

The Battle and Victory of King  
*WILLIAM*, by the River  
Boyn, in Ireland, July 1,  
1690.





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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
KINGDOM  
OF  
IRELAND.

Being an Account of all the Battles, Sieges, and other considerable Transactions, both Civil and Military, during the late Wars there, till the entire Reduction of that Country, by the victorious Arms of our late most Gracious Sovereign.

King *WILLIAM*.

To which is prefix'd, A brief Relation of the antient Inhabitants, and first Conquest of that Nation by King *Henry II.* and of all the remarkable Passages in the Reign of every King to this Time; particularly the horrid Rebellion and Massacre in 1641: With the Popish and arbitrary Designs that were carried on there in the former Reigns.

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The Tenth Edition enlarg'd.

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By *R. B.*

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# HISTORY

OF THE

## KINGDOM

## OF GREAT BRITAIN

By J. H. P. ...  
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### THE HISTORY

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The British Museum

By R. B.

LONDON: Printed

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T O T H E  
R E A D E R.

**T**H E Kingdom of Ireland, has for several Ages been an Aceldama, or Field of Slaughter, watered with the Blood of English Men; occasioned by their repeated Rebellions, and inveterate Aversion to the English Nation, in Pursuance whereof, they have left no Treacheries, Murders or Villanies unattempted, being encouraged thereto by their ignorant and superstitious Priests, to whose Dictates this stupid People entirely submit, and who endeavour to foment and cherish this inexorable Hatred, formerly under Pretence of recovering their Liberty, but since the Reformation, upon Account of Difference in Religion, which made them very troublesome to the renowned Queen Elizabeth, and was the chief Occasion of the horrid and bloody Massacre in 1641. In the late Reigns they were somewhat quieter, receiving much Favour and Countenance from the Court; but upon his present Majesty's glorious Expedition into this Kingdom, they made an absolute Defection from the Crown of England, and had totally reduced that Country to Popish Idolatry, and French Slavery (if his Majesty's victorious Arms and admirable Conduct, had not by the Blessing of Heaven reconquer'd and reduc'd this stubborn Nation to their former Subjection) of which the following History gives a brief Account, as well as of the ancient Inhabitants thereof, and of all considerable Matters from its first Conquest to this Time; which being full of Variety and Delight, I doubt not, will be as acceptable to the Reader, as my former mean Endeavours of this Kind.



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street, and Isaac Jackson at the Globe  
in Meath-street.*

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Argalus. and Parthenia  
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# THE HISTORY

Of the KINGDOM of

## Ireland, &c.

Being an Abridgment of Dean *Story's* late  
*Wars in Ireland.*

**I**RELAND hath always been accounted a Land of Wonders. and many strange Relations have been made thereof. though the greatest Wonder seems to be, that such incredible Stories should be told, and so firmly believed as they are by the *Irish* and divers others, to this very Day; to give you a Taste of them we find it recorded in their Histories, that in the North of *Munster* there are two Islands, a greater and a less, in the first never any Woman or Female Creature entereth but they instantly die, as hath been experimented by Bitches, and She-Cats, brought thither to that Purpose. The Cock Birds sing and hop upon the Trees, but the Hens avoid it as a fatal Place. The lesser is called the *Living-Isle*, because none can die therein, and therefore those that dwell here, when they are even tired with living, by Reason of Sickness or old Age, desire to be conveyed to the former where they no sooner arrive but they give up the Ghost. In the West Part of *Connacht*, say they, there is an Island called *Aren*, to which

St. Brendan doth often resort, the Air whereof is so great an Enemy to Putrefaction, that they never bury the Bodies of the dead, but are kept above Ground without the the least Smell or Offence. so that a Son may there view his Father, Grand-father, and all his Relations for many Ages past.

In *U-ster* is a Lake thirty thousand Paces long, and fifteen thousand broad, out of which ariseth the noble Northern River *Band*, wherein there are abundance of great Fish, so that the Nets are oft broken. It is believed by the Inhabitants that there were very wicked vicious People formerly living in this Place, and there was an old Prophecy in every one's Mouth, that whenever a Well which was therein, and was continually covered and locked up carefully, should be left open, so great a Quantity of Water should issue thereout as would forthwith overflow the whole adjacent Country. It happened that an old *Beldam* coming to fetch Water heard her Child cry, upon which running away in haste, forgot to cover the Spring, and coming back to do it, the Land was so over-run that it was past her Help, and at length she, her Child, and all in that Territory were drowned, which caused this Pool, that remains to this Day. A strange Spring is likewise discoursed of in *U-ster*, wherewith if a Man wash his Hair or Beard, they presently turn grey, and another of a contrary Quality, making all grey Hair black. I have seen a Man, saith my Author, who washing half his Beard with this Water it was all white, the other Part remaining brown. In *Connaught* is a Well on the Top of a Hill that ebbs and flows equally with the Sea, yet the Water is fresh.

At *Castlenock*, near *Dublin* is a Window neither glazed nor latticed, yet a Candle being set there

in the greatest Wind or Storm, burns as quietly as in the greatest Calm; and a Spring, the Water whereof is wholsome to human Bodies, but Poison to Beasts. In *Kildare* is a curious Field upon an Hill, where the *Irish* say, a great Battle will one Time or other be fought between the *Irish* and *English*, with such vast Effusion of Blood, that a Mill in a Valley hard by shall be turned four and twenty Hours with the Streams thereof. In a Plain in this Country, they relate, that those Stones were formerly placed which are now on *Salisbury* Plain, and conveyed thither with Sleight of Hand, by *Merlin*, the *Welch* Prophet, at the Request of *Aurelius Ambrosius* King of the *Britains*. In the South Part of *Munster* is an Island, blest by *St. Brendan*, a famous She Saint in this Island, with this strange Quality, that if any Hare, Stag, or other wild Beast be chased thereabout, it makes toward this Isle, swimming over a small Stream into it, whither Dogs dare not pursue, but standing on this Side the Bank see their Enemy sit there securely, protected by some invisible Bar from Danger. But the most remarkable Wonder of all is that of *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, thus described by the superstitious *Irish* Writers. In *Ulster* there is a Pool which compasseth an Island, in one Part whereof stands a Church, exceedingly enlightened by the glorious Appearance of Angels; the rest of the Isle is dark and horrid, seeming only a Den for Devils and evil Spirits, wherein is a Pit, which by a Door leadeth into a Cave of Stone, divided into seven Parts, which is called *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, for when this *Irish* Saint preached the Gospel to them, and told them of Joys eternal in another Life for the Godly, and miserable Torments to the Wicked, the People came and spake thus to him; *Sir, Though we like your Preaching, yet we are not*



willing to lose our Liberty; you tell us many strange Stories, persuading us to forsake our Pleasures and Delights on Earth, for which you promise us a Reward in an unknown Place in the other World. You likewise threaten us with a dismal Dungeon, appointed for offenders which, if we could believe to be true would more effectually prevail with us to leave our Delights than any other Motive.

St. Patrick perceiving that the Fear of Torment had more Influence upon them than the Blessedness of Heaven prayed earnestly that God would give them some Resemblance of the future Misery of sinful Souls; whereupon he was directed to this Place wherein if any Person would enter, he was to prepare himself by Prayer and Fasting 15 Days. during which Time the Friars represented to them the Horrors of the Place, and how the evil Spirits would torture them, so that as soon as they were in. what for want of Food and Sleep. their Fancies have been much disturbed, and they have dreamed of those terrible Things that have been told them; which indeed was the whole Mystery of all these Illusions, as divers affirmed who tried the Experiment in those superstitious Times; however. the Priests made good Use of it. by gaining Credit and Money from the poor deluded People. Neither is that excellent Blessing procured to this Island by the Prayers of their Patron St. Patrick, to be forgot, namely their Freedom from Serpents. and all other venomous Creatures to confirm which, one of their Authors confidently relates the following Story: A young Man in the North of England lying asleep in the Fields. with his Mouth open an Adder crept into it, and so down into his Belly, and tormented him with such violent Pains, that he desired his Friends to kill him, it never ceasing to tear and rend his Bowels but while he was eating; Medicines, nor Pilgrimages

to Saints would do no Good; at length being advised to go to *Ireland*: he no sooner arrived there, and had eat and drank upon the Island, but the Serpent was immediately killed within him, and voiding it downward, was instantly cured, and returned in good Health to *England*. So that it was a Proverb formerly, there was nothing venomous in *Ireland*, but the Men and Women which was intended of the Savage and brutish Manners of the wild *Irish*.

Neither was the inhabiting of this Country less miraculous than the Place, especially as to the Antiquity thereof; for it is recorded in the *Irish* Chronicles that when the Patriarch *Noah* threatned the People of the old World that Vengeance would follow their Wickedness, and thereupon built an Ark, to convince them that the whole Earth would be overflowed in a few Years, the Generality disregarded his Admonitions, only *Cesarea*, *Noah's* Niece, believing her Uncle's Prophecy, got a Ship and accompanied with three Men and fifty Women, resolved to find out some Country, never yet inhabited, but unspotted with Vice, and thereby free from the Sentence of God's Wrath. After long sailing and many Dangers, they at length arrived in *Ireland*, but within forty Days after their landing the universal Deluge came, and swept away all these new Inhabitants at once. This they say, happened in the Year after the Creation of the World, 1556, which was very wonderful, being long before the Art of Navigation was invented.

But to let this pass with as little Credit as the Reader pleases; it will be a sufficient Honour to the Antiquity of the *Irish*; to allow that their Country was first peopled by some of *Noah's* Kindred, even as soon as any Island in the World for their Histories relate, that about two

hundred Years after the Flood, upon the Confusion of the Tongues at *Babel*, *Japhet* and his Posterity, emboldened by *Noah's Ark*, built a Ship, wherein they adventur'd to make new Discoveries in the unknown Parts of the World; amongst them was one *Bastolenus*, who encouraged by the Example of *Nimrod* then Monarch of *Assyria*, resolved to settle a Kingdom in these *Western Islands* where he might rule without Controul, and at length Fortune brought him and his People to the Coast of *Ireland* where he settled, and left three Sons behind him. Among his Followers, were some of the Posterity of *Chim* that were Giants, who by the Example of *Ninus* rebelled against their King and set up another, who contended together with dubious Success; at length the Giants were utterly subdued, their Enemies sparing neither Man Woman nor Child; and to satisfy their Revenge to the full, they would not vouchsafe to bury them, but let them lie like dead Dogs, the Stench whereof caused such a mortal Pestilence, that few of the Victors escaped with Life but those who fled away by Sea to avoid the Infection.

And here our *Irish* Author tells us, that one of the Giants, Named *Rodnus*, who was preserved, lived above two thousand Years after (twice the Age of *Merhusalem*) by whom *St. Patrick* was thoroughly informed of the State of this Country, and being baptized by him died in the Year of our Lord, 430. Some few of these Giants hid themselves in Caves and Dens, after the last Battle, till Famine forced them to seek for Relief, when creeping out, and finding no Resistance, they grew bolder, and having Notice how Matters had happened, settled themselves in the best Part of the Country, then *Magog*, one of the Sons of *Japhet*, inhabiting in *Syria*, in Process

of Time, several of his Posterity, desirous to seek Adventures, landed in *Ireland*, but were chased thence by the Giants, after Wars had continued between them 216 Years. Next, the five Sons of *Dela* from *Greece* came hither, and utterly routed the Giants, being before weakened by their own Diffension, and then divided the Country into five Provinces, as they are at this Day, fixing a Stone in the Midst of the Country, to make the Division more equal but at length Ambition prevailing, one of these Sons, named *Slanius*, subdued his Brethren, and reigned alone, but was interrupted in his new Dominion, by an Army of *Scythians*, who invaded the Land, after them the *Britons*, and then the *Scots* under *Garhelus*, as is by some mentioned, came from *Spain* and fixing here reigned a great while in Peace, till the *Picts* came thither out of *Scythia* under *Roderick*, being accidentally cast ashore upon those Coasts, who were brought before the King of *Ireland*, to whom *Roderick* thus spake.

" It is not because we degenerate from the  
 " Courage of our Ancestors, but by the Frowns  
 " of Fortune, that we are now become humble  
 " Supplicants to *Ireland* who never yet sub-  
 " mitted to any other Nation; Behold, Sir King,  
 " and regard us well and then believe that it  
 " is no small Occasion which makes our lusty  
 " Bodies thus to stoop. *Scythians* we are, even  
 " *Picts* of *Scythia*, from which two Names there  
 " redounds to us much Glory, we will not whine  
 " and complain, that civil Wars at Home forced  
 " us from our own Country, thereby to move  
 " Pity in you towards Strangers; let our Ser-  
 " vants and Children discourse that at Leisure,  
 " we only desire the Favour to reside some short  
 " Time in our Land, as our Necessities require.  
 " A King craves this Kindness of a King, Soldi-  
 " ers



" diers of Soldiers; Princes are easily sensible  
 " how much it concerns their Honour and In-  
 " terest to relieve and support other Princes,  
 " oppressed by traiterous Practices; yea, all Men  
 " are naturally inclined to have Compassion of  
 " their fellow Creatures, and to be sensibly  
 " touched with their Calamities. Admit then,  
 " we beseech you, these scattered Remnants of  
 " *Scythia*. If your Land be narrow, we are not  
 " many, if your Soil be barren, we are born and  
 " bred to Hardiness. If you live in Peace, we  
 " are at your Command as Subjects. If you make  
 " War, we are ready to serve you as Soldiers.  
 " We demand no Kingdom, no State, no Pomps  
 " nor Triumphs in *Ireland*, we are here alone,  
 " and have left those Things behind us with our  
 " Enemies; howsoever you dispose of us we  
 " shall be content therewith, not remembring  
 " what we formerly have been, but what we  
 " now are.

After mature Consultation with their ancient  
 Records, which forbad them to mingle divers  
 Nations in one Realm, as occasioning Quarrels  
 and Dissensions, and considering their want of  
 Room, they persuaded these Strangers to go into  
*Britain*, providing Ships and Guides to convey  
 them thither, who landed them in the North  
 Parts, now called *Scotland*, where, contrary to  
 their Expectation, *Marius* King of the *Britons*,  
 waiting their coming, fell upon them, and slew  
 King *Roderick* and most of his Followers; those  
 who escaped, upon humble Submission, he li-  
 censed to inhabit the uttermost Parts of *Scotland*;  
 at length *Fergus* came out of *Ireland* with his *Scots*,  
 and inhabited there, as is already related. The  
*Irish*, as some Authors write, were first converted  
 to Christianity by St. *James* the Apostle, about  
 this Time, though themselves say, that *Paladins*

was first sent from Pope *Celestine* to preach the Gospel to them, and after him the renowned *St. Patrick*, who acted Wonders among them, making many Female Saints, and among others *St. Bridget*, a By-blow of a Captain in *Leinster*, who finding his Wench with Child, after she was delivered of this *Bridget*, sold her privately to an *Irish* Conjuror, for fear of his Wife's Jealousy; the young Lass was instructed in the Faith by *St. Patrick*, and was of so great Judgment, that not only the People, but a whole Synod of Bishops assembled near *Dublin* to hear her wise Counsel in many weighty Causes. One Action in her Childhood made her famous; The King of *Leinster* had bestowed on her Father for his good Services, a rich Sword garnished with many costly Jewels; this Damsel going often to visit her poor sick Neighbours, and having not wherewithal to relieve them, by reason of the Covetousness of her Father and Mother, she secretly gave them those Jewels out of that useless Sword, which being known, the King was much offended thereat, and coming one Time to banquet with the Father, he called her before him, not yet above nine Years old, demanding how she durst in that manner deface the Gift of a King? She answered, "They are bestowed upon a better King than you, whom finding in such Extremity, I would have given him all that my Father, yea, all that you had, and your selves too if it were in my Power, rather than Jesus Christ should starve."

In the Year of Christ 886, the *Danes* or *Norwegians*, being much inclined to invade other Countries, sensible they could not find more barren Lands than their own, grew dreadful both by Sea and Land, seizing upon the Isles of *Orkney*, and going from thence to *Ireland*, under

one *Turgesius*, conquering the *Irish* Kings, and reigned thirty Years, exercising all kind of Tyranny upon the Nobility and Commons; it happened that the King of *Meath* was in some trust with him, of whom he required his only Daughter for his Concubine; the Father readily answered, saying, 'Your Highness's Fancy, there  
" are divers Ladies of Quality in this Country,  
" fitter Bedfellows for a King than my brown  
" Girl;" and then reckoned up many of his Nieces and Cousins, extolling them to be rather Angels than human Creatures, that he even ravished the Tyrant with Joy before he saw them; but making some Delay, he began to suspect that it was only a Trick to preserve his Daughter from him; to take off which, the King of *Meath* spake thus to him; " If I should say that I wil-  
" lingly give you my only Daughter to be de-  
" flower'd, your Highness's Wisdom would sure-  
" ly judge I did but flatter you; and yet if ten  
" such Daughters were dearer to me than the sa-  
" tisfying your Pleasure, by whose Bounty and  
" Goodness she and I and all the rest are sup-  
" ported, I should be unworthy of that Friend-  
" ship and Confidence which you are pleased to  
" allow me; as for the Wench, she must needs  
" reckon it a great Honour to be admitted to  
" the Bed of so great a Prince, since Queens  
" have formerly taken long Journeys to yield  
" themselves up to noble Conquerors, in hope  
" to have issue by them; if there be any Scand-  
" al in it, a short Time will wear it out; but  
" such a Friend as you have been to me and  
" mine I can never hope to find, and therefore  
" fear your Displeasure more than the Loss of  
" twenty Maidenheads, since Fathers have not  
" valued to give their own Wives to satisfy the  
" Lusts of their Sons; appoint then the Time  
" and

and Place remote from your Court, and I will  
 send you my Daughter, accompanied with  
 twelve or sixteen young Ladies, the meaneſt  
 of whom is an Empreſs in Compariſon of her,  
 and when they are before you chuſe your  
 Game as you like, and if my Child chance to  
 pleaſe you, ſhe cannot be too good to be at your  
 Command, I deſire only, that if any of your  
 Friends ſhall require the ſame Favour, your  
 Majeſty would remember whoſe Daughter  
 ſhe is.

The Tyrant diſmiſſed him with repeated  
 Thanks for this liberal Offer, and the King of  
*Meath*, at the Time appointed, dreſt up his Daugh-  
 ter in the beſt Manner, and with her ſixteen  
 handſome beautiful young Men in Women's  
 Cloaths, who were all preſented to him in his  
 privy Chamber, none being preſent but a few  
 debauched Attendants; whereupon theſe young  
 Men drew out their Daggers, and killed the Ty-  
 rant and all the reſt, with very ſmall Reſiſtance;  
 this Act was ſoon blown over all *Ireland*, and  
 the oppreſſed Princes inſtantly roſe in Arms to  
 recover their Liberties; all *Meath* and *Leinſter*  
 quickly aſſembled, whom the King, commending  
 for their Forwardneſs in ſo natural a Quarrell,  
 thus encouraged, "My Lords and Friends, the  
 Caſe neither admitteth Delay, nor requires  
 any great conſulting, Speed and Courage is  
 all in all; while the Thing is freſh and new,  
 and ſome of our Enemies are ſtill and aſleep,  
 ſome lament, others curſe; ſome are counſelling,  
 but all diſmayed, let us prevent their Fury,  
 diſmember their Strength, cut off their Flight,  
 and ſeize upon their Places of Refuge and De-  
 fence; it is no Victory if we pluck their Fea-  
 thers and do not break their Necks, not to  
 chaſe them in, but to raiſe them out, to  
 weed



" weed them, not to rake them over; not to  
 " tread them down, but utterly to root them  
 " up; this Lesson the Tyrant himself taught me,  
 " for demanding once of him, by way of Para-  
 " ble, how Land might be freed from certain ra-  
 " venous Fowls that annoy it, he advised us to  
 " watch the Place where they bred, and fire their  
 " Nests about their Ears, let us go then and fall  
 " upon those Cormorants which shrowd them-  
 " selves in our Possessions; and let us destroy  
 " them, that neither Nest nor Root, neither  
 " Seed nor Stalk, neither Branch nor Stump  
 " remain of this cursed and ungrateful Gene-  
 " ration.

He had scarce ended his Oration, when the  
 People with Shouts of Joy extolled him as the  
 Defender of their Lives and Liberties, assuring  
 him of their utmost Assistance, and so joined  
 their Forces; they with a running Camp, in a  
 very short Time, cleared every Corner of the  
 Land of the *Norwegians*, razing their Castles to  
 the Ground, killing all that resisted, and banishi-  
 ing the rest, whereby every Prince again reco-  
 vered his own Government. The Histories of  
*Denmark* relate that some Time before this, *Frid-  
 lenus*, King of the *Danes*, arriving in *Ireland*, be-  
 sieged *Dublin*. but perceiving it hard to take, by  
 reason of the Strength of the Walls, he con-  
 trived to catch a Number of Swallows, who had  
 their Nests in the Houses within the City. and  
 tied Wild-fire to their Feet, they flying home,  
 set the Houses on fire, which whilst the Citizens  
 endeavoured to quench, they entered the City.  
 After which *Gonno*, the third King of *Denmark*,  
 though a Pagan, married *Thyra*, Daughter to the  
 Christian King, *Erboldred* of *Britain*, by whom he  
 had two Sons, *Canute* and *Harold*, who first invaded  
*England*, and then *Ireland*, where, at the Siege of  
*Dublin*,

Dublin *Canute* was slain, who for his Valour was so extremely beloved by his Father, that he vowed to kill him with his own Hands, who should bring him Tidings of his Death. *Gonno* was now very old and blind, pleasing himself in nothing more than hearing of the Victories of his Sons; when therefore Queen *Thyra* had Notice of her Son's Death, which neither she nor any other durst discover to him, she contrived to cloath her Husband all in Mourning, and prepared all Things usual as at a Funeral, and then used many lamentable Expressions of Grief for the Loss of some Friend; which *Gonno* perceiving, "Wo is me!" said he, you then signify the Death of my Son *Canute*; whereunto she answered, that he himself, and not she, had discovered the Truth." whereupon for Grief thereof he instantly gave up the Ghost.

We find little material in the *Irish* Chronicles, from this Time till the Conquest thereof by King *Henry* the Second, which, how it was occasioned, shall now relate. In the Year 1167 *Dermot Macmur*, King of *Leinster*, possessed all the East Parts of the Isle along the Sea-Coasts, using great Cruelty towards the Lords and Gentry: It happened that *Maurice*, King of *Meath*, going far into the Country, *Dermot* in the mean time stole away his Queen by her Consent; which *Maurice*, upon his Return, resolving to revenge represented it to *Roderick O Connor*, King of *Connaught*, and Monarch of all *Ireland*, beseeching his Assistance against the vile Adulterer; the People of *Leinster* detesting both *Dermot* and his Quarrel for his former Tyrannies, universally forsook him, so that he was forced to King *Henry* the second for Succour, who was then employed in his Wars in *France*; *Henry* had before cast his Eye upon *Ireland*, because they always assisted the *French* with Men, and

and *Adrian* an *Englishman*, being now Pope, he easily obtained his Consent for the Conquest thereof upon Condition of reducing the Inhabitants to Christianity, who were almost turned barbarous: at this very Time *Dermot* offered him his Service, of which he was very joyful, but having War with *France*, he had no Opportunity to go with him, and therefore taking an Oath of Fidelity and Obedience from him, he took him into his Protection, and for his more speedy Assistance sent him into *England*, honourably attended, with Letters Patent to this Effect, "*Henry King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitain, and Earl of Arjou* to all our faithful Subjects, *English, Normans, Welchmen and Scots*, and to all other Nations whatsoever, subject to our Dominion, sendeth greeting. When these Letters shall come to your Hand, know ye, That we have received *Dermot* Prince of *Leinster* into the Bosom of our Grace and Benevolence; Wherefore whosoever of our loving Subjects within our Dominions, will aid, assist, and restore him as our Liege Man and faithful Subject, be you assured that you have not only our Licence, but shall receive our Favour and Thanks for the same." With these Letters he arrived at *Bristol*, where he agreed with *Richard Strongbow* Earl of *Pembroke*, to give him his only Daughter in Marriage, for which the Earl was the next Spring to settle him in his Kingdom, which was to descend to him in Right of his Wife after *Dermot's* Decease; in the mean Time *Robert Fitz-Stephens* and *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, his Brother, Gentlemen of *Wales*, promised *Dermot*, that if he would assure them an Estate in the Town of *Wexford* for ever, they would assist him to begin the Recovery of his Country while the Earl of *Pembroke* was providing stronger Forces, and accordingly

Accordingly *Dermot* going over privately before, they with thirty Knights, sixty Esquires, and three hundred Archers, landed in *Ireland*, being the first *Englishmen* that ever came thither, and marching towards *Wexford*, *Dermot* met them with five hundred Men, and joining their Forces they soon took the Town of *Wexford*, which was freely given to *Fitz-Stephens*, according to their Covenant; and their Army daily increasing, they prevailed so much, that *Roderick*, the Monarch, assembled all the petty Kings to defend their Country; at length an Agreement was made, whereby *Dermot* was restored to his former Estate; and more Forces arriving from *England*, *Dermot*, encouraged thereby, resolved to be revenged of those of *Dublin*, who had been great Enemies to him and his Father; and marching thither they soon submitted themselves to him.

Now arrived the Earl of *Pembroke* with a considerable Aid, wherewith he made such notable Conquests that King *Henry* growing jealous of his Greatness, sent an Edict to recall all the *English* out of *Ireland*; but the Troubles raised by *Thomas Pecket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, hinder'd the Prosecution thereof; *Pembroke* was then in *Dublin*, where he was closely besieged by the *Irish* under *Roderick* (*Dermot* dying some Time before) and was at last reduced to such Extremity, that they resolved to sally forth and die like Men, rather than starve; and so issuing out with not above two or three hundred Men, they valiantly assaulted their Enemies Camp, consisting of near thirty thousand, with so much Resolution, that with great Slaughter of them, they obtained a glorious Victory, chasing their Enemies till Night came on, and then returning triumphantly with abundance of Provisions and rich spoil into the City, *Roderick* himself hardly escaping with his



his Life; after which the Earl of *Pembroke* coming into *England*, surrender'd *Dublin* and all the Castles and Forts over the Sea Coasts to King *Henry* and thereby remov'd his Jealousy, and was again received into Favour.

In 1172 King *Henry* the second landed with a considerable Army, whom *Roderick* in Behalf of himself, and all the other petty Princes of that Kingdom, acknowledged for his sovereign Lord, and the supreme Prince of all that Island, so that none refused Obedience to *Henry* but only the Province of *Uster*: The Christmas after, the King royally feasted all those Princes, who were become his Subjects, at *Dublin* and then taught the *Irish* first to eat Cranes Flesh, which was before abhorred by them. He then called a Synod where divers Abuses were reformed, and new Canons made for the future Government of the Church, and among others, "That since it had pleased God to bring them under the *English* Dominion, they should for the future observe all the Rites and Ceremonies of the *English* Church," Soon after King *Henry* returned to *England* being summoned by the Pope to answer for the Death of *Thomas Becket*. which occasioned much Trouble. In 1185 *Henry* made over all his Right and Title of *Ireland* to his youngest Son *John* after King of *England*, who landing at *Waterford*, accompanied with a few dissolute Companions, whose Advice he only regarded, caused great Commotions, whereupon he went back again the same Year. After the Death of his Brother, *Richard* the first. *John* succeeded, and came again to *Ireland* settling the Country, and banishing the *Lacies* for some Misdemeanors, but upon submission gave them Pardon, tho' not without paying him great Fines.

In 1300 Edward the first sent for Aid out of Ireland, to assist him in the Wars against Scotland, and after his Death the Scots invaded Ireland, being assisted by the wild Irish, whereby the Country was miserably ruin'd, four Princes of Connaught joining with them; but by the Valour of the English eleven thousand were slain in one night, among whom were the King of Connaught, *O Kelly* a great Lord, and divers others. The Death of *O Kelly* is somewhat remarkable; the Lord *Bremingham*, Commander of the English Army, sent out *John Hussey*, his Esquire, into the field, to view the dead Bodies, and search whether his old mortal Enemy *O Kelly* were slain among the rest; *Hussey* goes only with one Man to turn up the Bodies and was presently espied by *O Kelly* that lay lurking behind a Bush, who knowing *Hussey* to be a stout Man, came towards him and said " *Hussey*, thou seest I am armed at all Points, as well as my Esquire, thou art naked with thy Page only, so that had I not a great Kindness for thee, for thine own Sake, I would slay thee for the Sake of thy Masters; but if thou wilt come and serve me, as I desire, I promise upon *St. Patrick's Staff*, to make thee a Lord of a greater Estate in Connaught than thy Master hath in Ireland." These Words not prevailing upon *Hussey*, a lusty Fellow belonging to *O Kelly* began to reproach him for refusing a fair an Offer; so that *Hussey* had now three to deal with; he therefore dispatched this Fellow first, and then struck *O Kelly's* Esquire such a Blow under the Ear, that he laid him for dead: Lastly, he fell upon *O Kelly* himself, and instantly slew him; and then perceiving the Esquire, who was very astonished with the Stroke, to revive again, caused him to carry his Lord's Head upon a duncheon, and presented it to *Bremingham*, who for this notable Service knighted *Hussey*, and gave him

him large Possessions, the Successors of whose Family were afterwards Lords of *Galtrim*.

In King *Edward* the Second's Reign the Lord *Roger Mortimer* was sent over Justice into Ireland, at which Time *Edward Bruce*, Brother to *Robert Bruce*, King of *Scotland*, who had taken several Places, and caused himself to be crowned King of *Ireland*, was slain in a great Battle, wherein the *Scots* were vanquished; one *Mampas*, an *Englishman*, who rushed into the Midst of the Fight to encounter *Bruce* Hand to Hand, was in the Search found dead, fallen upon the Body of *Bruce*. This Year, 1320, an University was erected in *Dublin*, about which Time the Lady *Alice Keth* with her two Companions *Petronelle* and *Basel* were charged with Inchantment, and that they had Conference every Night with a Spirit called *Robin Artisson*, to whom they sacrificed in the Highway nine red Cocks, and eleven Peacocks Eyes, and that this Lady swept the Streets of *Kilkenny* in the Twilight, bringing all the Filth to the Door of her Son *William Outlaw*, muttering the Words;

*To the House of William, my Son,  
Go all the Wealth of Kilkenny Town.*

The Lady made her Escape, but in searching her Closet (says my Author) they found a Wafer of Sacrament Bread, having the Devil's Name stamped thereon instead of *Jesus Christ*, and an Ointment wherewith she greased a Staff, upon which she galloped through thick or thin, as she pleased; *Petronelle* was burnt at *Kilkenny* upon the Account.

In the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, 1341, the *Irish* in *Mearb* and *Leinster* rebelled, and vanquished the Earl of *Ormond*, burning fourscore

English in a Church, and committing woful Outrages. At length the Citizens of *Wexford* falling upon them, slew 400, the rest being drowned in the Water of *Slane*. At this Time Sir Robert *Savage*, a wealthy Knight, dwelt in *Ulster*, who to secure himself from the Incursions of the *Irish*, began to fortify his Mannor Houses with Castles and Ditches, exhorting his Son and Heir to do the same, for the Benefit of himself and Posterity: Father, (says young *Savage*) I remember the Proverb, better a Castle of Bones than of Stones; whereof I have the Strength and Courage of Men, by the Grace of God I will never incumber my self with dead Walls; my Fort shall be the youthful Blood of my Friends, and where I have Room to fight. The Father in a Fume left building; but the Neglect of this Counsel was the Ruin of that and many other English Families in *Ulster*. This *Savage*, having raised Forces against the *Irish*, gave to every Man before the Fight a stout Cup of *Aqua* Wine, or strong Ale, and provided Plenty of Beef, Venison and Fowls for their Return, which his Captains disliking, considering the Uncertainty of War, since the Enemy might happen to feast upon the same, they being so few against a Multitude of *Irish*, Gentlemen, (said he, smiling) You are too full of Envy, this World is but an Inn, wherein we have no certain Interest but are only Tenants at the Will of the Lord: If it please him to command us hence, as from our Lodging, and let other good Fellows in our Room, what Hurt can it be for us to leave 'em Meat for their Suppers? Let them stoutly win it and eat it. If they should come to our Houses, we could not but welcome them with what the Country affords, and therefore much Good may do  
 " them



“ them with all my Heart; however I have such  
 “ Confidence in your Courage and Gallantry  
 “ that I doubt not but we shall return home  
 “ safe at Night, and banquet merrily upon our  
 “ own Provisions.” Which happened according-  
 ly; for falling upon them, they in a short Time  
 cut off three thousand *Irish* Men, and returned  
 triumphantly home.

In 1394 King *Richard* the second being much  
 grieved for the Death of his beloved Queen *Ann*  
 not able to endure his Chambers of State with-  
 out Tears, passed over into *Ireland* to divert him-  
 self, where divers Princes renewed their Homage  
 to him. In 1398 the *Irish* rebelling, *Roger Mortimer*  
*Earl of March*, the King's Lieutenant, was slain  
 with divers other Persons of Quality, to re-  
 venge which King *Richard* sailed again to *Ireland*  
 and had several successful Skirmishes against  
 them, killing at one Time two hundred of the  
 Rebels, and many more afterward; and then go-  
 ing to *Dublin* he continued there some Time, di-  
 vers Lords and Princes submitting themselves  
 and were received very courteously by him.  
 During his Stay here, he had Intelligence, that  
*Henry Duke of Lancaster*, his Uncle, whom he had  
 lately banished, was returned into *England* de-  
 signing to deprive him of his Crown; whereupon  
 he committed the Duke's Son, and the Duke of  
*Gloucester's* Sons both then in *Ireland*, Prisoners  
 to the Castle of *Trim*, and then imbarcking ar-  
 rived in *Wales*, where he found such weak Affi-  
 rance, that at length he fell into his Adversaries  
 Hands, and was disposed of by Authority of Parli-  
 ament, the Duke of *Lancaster* being admitted to  
 reign in his stead, by the Name of *Henry* the  
 Fourth; in whose second Year Sir *Stephen Scrope*  
 was made Lieutenant who was much exclaim'd  
 against by the People, for his former Violence

and Extortions under King *Richard*, upon which his Lady assur'd him, she would no longer continue with him there, unless he took a solemn Oath upon the Bible, not knowingly or willingly to wrong any Christian Creature in that Kingdom, and to repair all the Wrongs he had done, she having made such a Vow to Christ, that unless this were perform'd she could not live with him, without Peril of her Soul. Her Husband consented hereto, and became afterwards as famous for Justice, as he had been before infamous for Oppression.

In the Reign of King *Henry 5*, 1420 *James Butler*, Earl of *Ormond*, being Lieutenant, some of the Irish Lords making Insurrections. The Earl fought with them in the red Moor of *Arby*, where (saith my Author) the Sun being almost down, miraculously stood still for three Hours, till the Irish who were commanded by *O Moore*, and his terrible Army, were utterly vanquish'd, with the Loss of a very few English, neither did the Bog or Quagmire endamage either Horse or Man of *Ormond's* Party till the Feat was accomplished, but continued firm, like other Ground. In King *Henry* the sixth's Reign, *Richard Duke of York*, Father to *Edward* the fourth, was Lieutenant, his second Son *George* after Duke of *Gloucester* being born in the Castle of *Dublin*. The Earl of *Desmond* was Deputy in *Edward* the fourth's Time, who speaking disgracefully of the King's marrying the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*, she caused his Government in *Ireland* to be examined, and for Misdemeanors therein he was condemned and beheaded at *Tredagh*.

*Girald Earl of Kildare*, was Deputy in *Henry* the seventh's Time, to whom *Richard Symons*, a subtil Priest applied himself bringing to him a young Lad, his Scholar, named *Lambert*, whom

he affirmed to be the Son of *George Earl of Clarence* lately escaped out of the Tower of London; the Youth had been so well tutor'd, and acted the Part of a Prince so gracefully, that the Earl of *Kildare*, and many others of the Nobility, espoused his Quarrel, and crowned him King in *Dublin*, with much Joy and Triumph; and then raising Forces they embarked for *England*, and landed in *Lancashire*, but were defeated by King *Henry's* Army, and *Lambert* taken, but pardoned for Life. In 1460 the Dutchels of *Burgundy* raised another Spirit of Illusion: One *Perkin Warbeck*, whom she sent into *Ireland* assuring the Lords, that he was the youngest Son of King *Edward* the fourth, named *Richard*, who had been strangely preserved from the Cruelty of his Uncle *Græke Back*; but he being taken Prisoner, confessed the whole imposture.

In King *Henry* the 8th's Time the Earl of *Kildare* was continued Deputy, a plain, open-hearted Man, very passionate and soon appeased. Being once in a great Rage with his Servants, one of his Esquires offer'd Mr. *Boyce* a Gentleman Retainer, an *Irish* Hobby, upon Condition he would just then pluck an Hair from the Earl's Beard; Mr. *Boyce* took him at his Word, and knowing the Earl's Good-nature, slept to him and acquainted him with the Business; "Well, said the Earl I am content, but if thou pluck a  
"hoye one Hair, I shall reach thee a second Box  
"on the Ear." Being accused before *Henry* the seventh, for burning the Cathedral of *Cashel*, and many Witnesses appearing to justify it, he suddenly confess'd the Fact to the Wonder and Detestation of those present; who admiring how he would come off; "By Jesus (says he)  
"I would never have done it, had I not been  
"told that the Arch-bishop was within it." Now he being there present, and principal  
Accuser

Accuser, the King laughed at the plainness of the Man, that he should alledge that for an Excuse, which was the greatest Aggravation of his Offence. Lastly, they summ'd up all in this Article. All Ireland cannot rule this Earl." No quoth the King? Then in good Faith he shall "rule all Ireland," and thereupon constituted him Deputy.

In 1521 *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surry*, after Duke of *Norfolk* was made Lord Lieutenant and the Earl of *Kildare* was, by the Contrivance of his Enemies summoned over into *England*, to answer several Accusations against him, and being brought before the Council, the proud Cardinal *Wolsey* then Lord Chancellor, charged him with several Misdemeanors, as holding Correspondence with the *Irish* Rebels, especially the Earl of *Desmond* his Kinsman, who had been treating with the *French* and Emperor, about invading the Island, and not seizing him when in his Power; with divers other Crimes; using these Expressions to *Kildare*, among others; "Surely this Juggling and false Play becomes neither a Man of Honesty nor Honour; had you but lost a Horse or a Cow, two hundred of your Retainers had come at your Whistle to rescue the Prey, even from the utmost Parts of *Ulster*; all the *Irish* in the Country must have fled before you; but in pursuing so great an Enemy as *Desmond* Merciful God! How nice, how fearful, how backward have you been? One While he is from Home, another Time he keeps close Home; sometimes he is fled; sometimes on the Borders where you dare not venture: I find, my Lord, there are dreadful Rugbears on the Borders which affright the Earl of *Kildare*; Earl! nay, King of *Kildare*; for when you please you can command like an Emperor; where you are

B 2

"malicious



"malicious the most loyal Subjects are accounted  
 "Irish Enemies; and where you please an Irish  
 "Rebel shall pass for a dutiful Subject; Hearts  
 "and Hands, Lives and Fortune lye all at your  
 "Pleasure; and those that do not fawn upon  
 "you and flatter you, dare not presume to come  
 "into your presence."

The Earl as well as the Lords of the Council,  
 were much offended at this odious and abusive  
 Discourse, which was usual with the Cardinal,  
 desiring him to name and prove Particulars; at  
 length *Kildare* being out of Patience interrupted  
 him, saying; "I find (my Lord) that you are  
 "very fit to be the Mouth of this Board; but  
 "(my Lord) those that put these Words into  
 "your Grace's Mouth had very wide ones them-  
 "selves, and have long gaped for my Ruin, and  
 "having no other Stuff have filled their Mouths  
 "with Smoak: What my Cousin *Desmond* hath  
 "contrived I know not; I beshrew his naked  
 "Heart for holding out so long; but what is  
 "this to me, cannot he conspire but I must be  
 "of his Council? Cannot he hide except I wink?  
 "Can he have no Friends but I must be the  
 "Traytor? This is strange reasoning; you would  
 "not see him. say they; when he was within  
 "my View? Who stood by when I let him es-  
 "cape? They will swear it they say; Why? Be-  
 "cause they have my Letters; They may lye  
 "lewdly against my Cousin *Desmond* since none  
 "dares contradict them; but for my Part I ne-  
 "ver thought them to have so much Wit, nor Ho-  
 "nesty that I would have ventur'd the Life of  
 "a good Hound upon their Secrecy or Silence,  
 "much less my own. Touching my Kingdom,  
 "I know not what your Lordship means. If  
 "your Grace imagines, that a Kingdom consists  
 "in serving God, obeying my Prince, ruling  
 "with

with Love, suppressing Rebels and executing Justice, I would be glad to be invested with so Royal a Name; but if you term me King, as repining at the Government of my Sovereign, conniving at Malefactors, or injuring the Peaceable. I utterly disclaim that odious Title, admiring that your Grace out of your profound Wisdom seems to appropriate so sacred a Name to such wicked Actions. But however, I wish (my Lord) you and I were to change Kingdoms but for one Month; I doubt not but in that Time I should gather up more Crums than the Revenues of my Earldom are worth. But you are well and warm, and continue you so still; but do not upbraid me with such base Crimes. I slumber in a hard Cabbin while you sleep in a Bed of Down; I serve the King under the Cope of Heaven, when you are served at Home under a Canopy; I drink Water out of my Iron Head piece, when you drink Wine out of Golden Cups; my Horse is train'd up for the Wars, while your Gennet is taught to amble: You are be-graced and be-lorded, you are crept and knee-led unto, when in the mean Time, I can find small Regard with the *Irish* Borderers, who are so stout they will never kneel to me, except I cut off their Legs by the Knees."

The Council were much pleased at these sharp Girds of *Kildare* against *Wolsey* who rising up in a Fury committed the Earl to Prison, but he was afterwards bailed by the Duke of *Norfolk*, to the Cardinal's great Grief, and entertained in his House; during which the *Irish* made another Insurrection; and the Cardinal again charging *Kildare* as the Fomenter thereof, committed him to the Tower, for which he was much pried by the Lieutenant and all the Court, who loved him

him heartily. One Night when the Lieutenant and he were playing at Shovel-board, a Warrant was sent for executing *Kildare* at which the Lieutenant fetching a deep Sigh; By *St. Bride* (says "he) Lieutenant, there is some mad Game in that Serool of Paper; but let it fall how it will, have at the Game." When he understood the Message, "Well, said he, pray do me the Favour to go to the King, and know certainly whether it be his Pleasure." The Lieutenant was much afraid of displeasing the Cardinal, yet his Kindness to his Friend prevailing, he posted to the King at Midnight; and having admittance shewed him the Warrant; the King incensed (as he said) at the Sauciness of the Priest, gave him his Signet in Token of a Countermand; which when the Cardinal understood, he raved and raged in such furious Language that the Lieutenant went away leaving him to mutter over the Devils *Pater noster* by himself. Shortly after *Wolsey* was thrown out of Favour, and the Earl restored to his Life and Estate; and Sir *William Shreffington* being made Deputy of Ireland, carried *Kildare* along with him.

About this Time the Lieutenant being at Dinner, News came that the *O Moors* were in Arms, and ready to invade the *Engish Pale*; whereupon the Mayor of *Dublin* raising Forces marched against them, who dispersing themselves, a Party fell upon the Carriages, which were weakly guarded, but were so warmly received by a stout young Man nam'd *Patrick Fitz-Simmons*, that he routed them, and cut off two of the Rebels Heads. Next Morning the Governor's Men, who fled from *Fitz-Simmons* reported that he ran away, and the Carriages were lost; whereupon the Governor coming in a Rage to the Mayor's Tent, cry'd out, that his Man *Fitz-Simmons* was a cowardly Traytor, in running away and losing the Carriages;

Carriages; *Fitz-Simmons* skipping out of the Tent in his Shirt, with the two Heads in his Hand: "My Lord (said he) I am no Coward; I stood to my Tackling; and when your Men gave me the Slip I rescued the Carriages; of which these Heads are a Token," throwing them down before him: "Say'st thou so (cried the Lieutenant) then I cry thee Mercy; and I would I had been with thee;" and so praising and rewarding him, he dismiss him; and soon after the *O Moors* retired to their Bogs and Fastnesses.

In 1432 the Earl of *Kildare* having several great Enemies in Ireland was again sent for over into England, and charged with furnishing his own Ports with Artillery out of the Castle of *Dublin*. for which he was committed to Prison; he left his Son and Heir, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, Vice Deputy in his stead; who hearing his Father was in Custody, the Enemies of the *Geraldines* incited him to Rebellion, thereby to destroy the Family of the *Geralds*. So that Lord *Thomas* calling a Council, his Horsemen and Servants rushed into the Chamber completely armed; for he had been informed that his Father was to be put to Death, and himself to be seized, and therefore resolved to defend himself; turning then to the Chancellor he said; "How injuriously soever we have been used and are thus forced to defend our selves by Arms, since our Service and Loyalty is misrepresented to our Prince, yet let none say hereafter but we acted like Gentlemen and Soldiers, in using this open Hostility, and not treacherously and basely: This Sword of State is yours, and not mine; I receiv'd it with an Oath, and have used it to your Benefit; and should therefore stain my Honour if I should turn it to your Damage or Hurt; I have now Need of my own Sword, for she o-

ther



“ther only flattereth me with a painted Scab-  
 “bard, but hath indeed a pestilent Edge, already  
 “dy bathed in the Blood of the *Geraldines*, and  
 “now newly whetted for future Destruction;  
 “defend your selves therefore from us, as  
 “from declared Enemies; I am none of King  
 “*Henry's* Deputy, I am his mortal Foe; I  
 “have more mind to conquer than to govern;  
 “to meet him in the Field than to serve him as  
 “an Officer; if all the Hearts in *England* and *Ir-*  
 “*land*, who have Cause so to do, would join in  
 “this Quarrel, as I hope they will, they would  
 “soon make him repent his Tyranny and Cru-  
 “elty, for which the Ages to come may justly  
 “register him amongst the most barbarous Ty-  
 “rants of abominable and hateful Memory.”

The Lord Chancellor, taking Lord *Thomas* by  
 the Hand, requested him, for the Love of God, to  
 hear a few Words; and then made a most passion-  
 ate Oration, accompanied with many Tears, to  
 dissuade him from his rash Enterprize; but all in  
 vain, for Lord *Thomas* thus proceeded; “It is very  
 “easy for the Sound to give Counsel to the  
 “Sick; if the Case were yours, you would be  
 “as impatient, it may be, as I; as you require  
 “me to honour my Prince, so Duty binds me  
 “to reverence my Parents; so that he that ty-  
 “rannically designs to kill my innocent Father,  
 “and threatens my Destruction, I will never  
 “acknowledge to be my King; if, as you inti-  
 “mate, I happen to miscarry, I had rather die  
 “valiantly and at liberty, than live under *Henry*  
 “in Slavery and Bondage.” With these Words,  
 delivering up his Sword, he flung away like a  
 Madman; and assembling all the *Irish* he could  
 get together they committed several Outrages  
 and Mischiefs; and seizing upon *Allen*, Archbi-  
 shop of *Dublin*, his old Enemy, his Followers

mur-

murdered him. At length after many Skirmishes he was, by the Lord Deputy *Gray*, persuaded to submit himself to the King; and going to *England* was committed to the Tower, Orders being sent to *Ireland* for apprehending his five Uncles, who were all seized, namely, *James, Walter, Oliver, John* and *Richard Fitz Gerald*. though two of them always opposed their Nephew's Proceedings; but King *Henry* being incensed against them, because he was informed that as long as any *Geraldine* breathed in the Country he could never conquer it, resolved to be rid of them all. Thus were the five Brethren sailing to *England*, some comforting themselves with the King's Mercy, and others with their own Innocency; when *Richard Fitz Gerald*, who was more Bookish than the rest, chanced to ask the Master what the Name of his Ship was, who answering it was called the Cow, "Nay then, good Brethren (quoth he) I despair of our Return to *Ireland*; for I remember I have heard an old Prophecy, that five Brethren to an Earl should be carried into *England* in the Belly of a Cow, and never come back again." At which Words the rest began to howl and lament in a grievous manner, which seemed very strange to the Spectators, that five such valiant Gentlemen should be so disturbed at an old Prophecy. However, what he foretold proved true, for they no sooner arrived but *Thomas Fitz Gerald* was executed at *Tower Hill*, and the five Brethren hanged and quartered at *Tyburn*; the old Earl of *Kildare* died for Grief in the Tower, and *Gerald* the younger Brother of *Thomas*, flying out of *Ireland* travelled many foreign Countries, and at length died at *Naples*. Soon after the Lord Deputy *Gray* was beheaded on *Tower Hill*, being accused for holding a Correspondence with the *Fitz Gerald*s, though many

thought him innocent thereof. In the three and thirtieth Year of King Henry the eighth the Title of King of Ireland was by Parliament settled upon him and his Successors for ever, whereas before they were only called Lords of Ireland.

During the short Reigns of King Edward the sixth and Queen Mary, our Chronicles relate little of any Transactions in Ireland. In 1566, the seventh of Queen Elizabeth, for the Fame of her Wisdom, Donald Mac Carry More, a great Potentate of Ireland, came and delivered up into her Hands all his ample Territories, which she restored to him again, and in Requitall created him Earl of Glencare, giving him many Presents, and paying the Expence of his Voyage. In 1570, O'Brien Earl of Thomond, not brooking the severe Government of Edward Fitton, President of Connaught, entered into a Conspiracy, which being ready to break forth was strangely discovered; for the Day before they meant to take up Arms, Fitton, knowing nothing of it, sent Word to the Earl in a friendly Manner, that the next Day he and some of his Friends would come and dine with him; the Earl having a guilty Conscience thought his Designs were revealed, and that Fitton would rather come as an Enemy than a Guest: whereupon he presently fled to France, where he confessed the whole to Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador, by whose Intercession he was afterwards pardoned and restored. Four Years after Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, going into Ulster, several Irish Grandes submitted themselves and were received into Favour.

In 1583 the famous Rebel Gerald Fitz Gerald, the eleventh Earl of Desmond of this Family, having a long Time escaped the English in his lurking Places, was now discovered by a common Soldier in a poor Cottage, and there slain; his

Head

Head was sent into England, and set upon London Bridge. This Earl had this great Lord, who possessed whole Countries; and had at least five hundred Gentlemen of his own Name and Race, all whom, and his own Life also, he lost within three Years, very few of his Family being left alive. And this Disaster he fell into by being traitorous to his Prince, at the Instigation of certain Popish Priests, of whom the chief was one Nicholas Sanders, an Englishman, who at the same Time died miserably of Famine; for running mad upon his ill Success, he wandered up and down the Mountains, finding nothing to sustain him. In 1558 the *Bourkes* raised a Rebellion, the *Irish* declaring they would have one of that Family to rule over them, or some other Lord out of Spain; neither could they be quiered till the President of Connaught's Brother following them into the Woods, drove away five thousand Head of their Cattle, so that after forty Days, half starved, they came forth and submitted themselves. But the President understanding that about this Time two thousand Scotch Islanders were landed and joined with the *Irish*, and ready to break into Connaught; he musters up his Men to give them Battle; but they flying to Bogs and Woods, he retires back as though in Fear, thereby to draw them to the firm Ground; and then set upon them with his whole Force, slaying three thousand, which were all their Number except fourscore; by which notable Victory the insolent Attempts of the Scotch Islanders were entirely crushed.

In 1590 Hugh Cavetock, so called because he had been so long kept in Fetters, the Son of Shan O'Neal, accused Hugh Earl of Tyrone for holding a Correspondence with the Spaniards in 88; who, to prevent the Accusation, took a Cord, and with his



his own Hand strangled *Hugh*; for which being sent for over he was pardoned upon Condition of future Obedience and reducing the Country to Civility. After this *Mac Mahon*, a Potentate of *Ireland*, compelled those under him to pay Tribute, whereupon the Deputy caused him to be taken and tried by a Jury of common Soldiers, and then to be hanged up, dividing his Lands between some of the *Mahons* and the *English*. Then *Bryan O Rork* fearing he should be served in the same Manner, made a Rebellion, and being defeated fled into *Scotland*; but at the Queen's Request was delivered up, and was arraigned at *Westminster* for dragging the Queen's Picture at an Horse Tail, and for giving the *Spaniards* Entertainment; which being told him by an Interpreter, for he could speak no *English* he said, "He would not be tried unless the Queen herself were Judge." But being informed this was the Law, he only said, "If it must be so, it must be so;" and was condemned and executed at *Tyburn* which he valued as little as if all had been in Jest. In 1596 *Tyrone* with a considerable Force raised a Rebellion, and was proclaimed Traytor, after which he gave the *English* a great Defeat; whereupon all *Ulster*, *Munster* and *Connaught* were in Arms against the *English*. At length the Earl of *Essex* was sent against him, who instead of fighting made a Truce with him; But afterwards the *English* so prevailed that *Tyrone* finding his Condition desperate, resolved to throw himself upon the Queen's Mercy without Conditions; thereupon being admitted to the Presence of the Deputy, at the very Entry of the Room he fell on his Knees, begging Pardon for his great Fault against God, and a most bountiful Prince; the next Day the Deputy took him along

long with him to *Dublin* intending to send him to *England*, but before he could come thither the Queen died.

In King *James's* Reign *Tyrone* and all his Adherents absolutely submitted to his Majesty's pleasure; who by an Act of Oblivion, published by Proclamation under the Great Seal, did forgive and utterly extinguish all Offences against the Crown, and all particular Trespasses between Subject and Subject to all who would come into the Justice of Assize by such a Day, and claim the Benefit thereof; by which all the *Irish* who in former Times were generally left under the Tyranny of their Lords and Chiefs, and had no Defence nor Justice from the Crown, were now received into his Majesty's immediate Protection; the publick Peace being thus established, publick Justice was next settled, by dividing all *Ireland* into Shires, and erecting Circuits in every Province, and governing all Things therein according to the Laws of *England*; and lastly the Estates and Possessions of the *English* as well as the *Irish* were settled throughout the Kingdom to the great Comfort and Security of all Men and thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal Peace, for above forty Years that ever was seen in *Ireland*.

Yet the Foundation thereof was not so strongly laid, but it received a Shake by the first Storm that threatened *England*; for being engaged in a War with *France* and *Spain* about the Beginning of the Reign of King *Charles* the 1st. 1617 there was Occasion for sending some additional Forces into *Ireland* for the Security thereof; upon which Proposition was made to the chief of the *Irish* Nation by the Lord Deputy *Falkland* for contributing a competent Sum of Money toward the Maintenance of those Forces, to be established

by the Way of a standing Army; to which they would not condescend without a Toleration of Religion first obtained. though Arch-bishop *Usher*, then Lord Primate of all *Ireland* in a great Assembly of *Irish* and *English* at *Dublin*, used many cogent Arguments to persuade them to it, and among others, "That their being Romanists would not exempt them the more from the Danger of a common Enemy, as they might conjecture from the answer which the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* gave in this Case in 1588. "That his Sword knew no Difference between a Catholick and a Heretick: but that he came to make Way for his Master.; Divers other notable Instances he gave whereby he prophetically intimated what afterward fell upon *Ireland* in 1641. when above one hundred and fifty thousand *British* Planters were most inhumanly massacred by the outrageous *Irish* without the least Provocation given to perpetrate such wicked and unparalleled Acts of Barbarism.

But before I proceed to give an Account of that dismal Tragedy, I will make some brief Deduction of some former Transactions in this Kingdom and discover the Beginnings and Progress of the general Rebellion in 1641.

*Ireland* for near five hundred Years has continued under the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*, and presently after its first Conquest was planted with *English* Colonies; long since worn out, or generally become *Irish*, and therefore hath in this last Age been supplied with great Numbers of People from *England* and *Scotland* to settle there. The *Irish* as we have related want not many fabulous Inventions to magnify the Original of their Nation, but whether the *Soylans Gauls*, *Africans*, *Goths*, or some other Eastern Nations that antiently inhabited *Spain* came and sat down there is very uncertain; yet their

their Manners, Customs, Words, Names, and all retain'd Ceremonies, seem very much to demonstrate their first Rise from some of those People; for it may be Conjectured, that as the Western Parts of Ireland bordering upon England were first planted by the old Britains, several of their Words being still in use; and as the Northern Parts were first inhabited by the Scythians, from whom it was called *Scythland* or *Scotland*, so the South and more Western Parts thereof were peopled by the Maritimes of Spain, being the next Continent; not by the present Spanish Nation, who are now a different Mixture of People, but it is probable by the *Gauls* who antiently inhabited all the Sea coasts of Spain.

The whole Kingdom of Ireland was divided into five principal Chieftains or Commanders, that is, *Mac-Morrough* of Leinster, *Mac-Carry* of Munster, *O'Neal* of Ulster, *O'Connor* of Connaught, and *O'Melaghlin* of Meath who were all called Kings; but as they had neither Hereditary Right nor lawful Election, so they were neither anointed or crowned, but made their Way by the Sword, and were invest'd with certain barbarous Ceremonies and ruled with all manner of Tyranny; the People being absolute Slaves to all the Savage Customs practis'd under their Dominions, which continued till the Reign of Henry II. King of England; in whose Time the Undertaking for the Conquest of Ireland was very successful, being made by most powerful, though private Adventures upon this Occasion.

*Desmond Mac-Morrough* King of Leinster, being forced to fly his Country by the Kings of Connaught and Meath, repaired to King Henry, then personally attending his Wars in France, and earnestly implored his Aid and for recovering his Territories, most injuriously, as he pretended tak-



en from him. The King refused to embark in the Quarrel, yet graciously recommended the Justice of his Cause to all his loving Subjects and assured them, that whoever would assist *Dermot* should have free Liberty to transport their Forces, and be held to do very acceptable Service therein: whereupon *Strangbow* Earl of *Pembroke* resolved, as a private Adventurer, to aid him with his utmost Power; and *Dermot* coming to him at *Bristol*, an Agreement was made, that *Strangbow* should marry *Dermot's* only Daughter *Eva* and after his Death should enjoy the Kingdom of *Leinster* of which she was Heiress; after which *Strangbow* ingaging some other private Gentlemen in the Design, they got together a Party of 490 Men, which they transported in the three Ships to *Wexford* in *Ireland*, and there joining with some of *Dermot's* Forces, they not only reduced that Town, but soon after possessed themselves of all the Maritime Parts of *Leinster*.

King *Henry* upon the News of the prosperous Reducement of so large a Territory by such inconsiderable Forces, desirous to share with his Subjects both in the Profit and Glory of so great an Action, resolved to make an Expedition thither in Person; when he arrived there, the Presence of so great a Prince had such a strange Influence on the Minds of the rude savage Natives, that partly by the Power of Arms, and partly by his Grace and Favour in receiving them upon their feigned Submissions, he soon subdued this barbarous divided People. This happened in 1172; the King found the Land good and flourishing, with Plenty of all Kind of Provisions the Soil rich and fertile the Air sweet and temperate the Havens safe and commodious, several Towns and Villages scattered up and down in several Parts of the Country,

but

at the Buildings so mean and contemptible that when the King arrived at *Dublin*, their Chief City, he found no Place of Entertainment but was obliged to set up a long House made of smoothed Wattles, after the manner of that Country, and therein kept his *Christmas*; all their Forts, Castles, stately Buildings, and other Edifices, were afterwards erected by the *English* except some of their maritime Towns, which were built by the *Easterlings*, which formerly inhabited there: He found likewise several Monuments of Piety, and other remarkable Testimonies that the Christian Religion had been planted there about 400 Years after *Christ*, by some honest and learned Men from foreign Parts, as *Sedulius*, *Paladius*, and *Patricius* the famous *Irish* Saint, born at *Kirk Patrick* near *Glasgow* in *Scotland*, who came hither out of a pious Desire to propagate the Gospel, and for the Conversion of a barbarous People, instructing them in the Principles of the Christian Faith; and *St. Patricius*, with his unwearied Endeavours, had such great Success, that some Authors write, the Church of *Irish* was by him erected into an Episcopal See, 350 Bishops consecrated and great Numbers of Clergymen instituted, who (notwithstanding the notorious Ignorance and Debauchery of the common People) being most Monks by Profession, and of strict and severe Lives, were so admired by other Nations in those rude Times, that in respect to them *Ireland* was termed the Isle of Saints: But so quickly did Piety decay that this same was lost, yea the very Prints and Characters of Devotion obliterated, even among the Clergy themselves; and so filthy and depraved were the Manners of the common People, that when King *Henry II.* design'd to go thither, he obtained a Bull of *Pope Adrian* to go over and conquer

conquer Ireland and reduce the beastly Inhabitants into the Way of Truth; and the King at his Arrival found them so indeed, being generally void of all manner of Civility, governed by no settled Laws, living like Beasts, biting and devouring one another; without all Rules, Customs, or reasonable Constitution, either for Regulation of Property, or against open Force and Violence, most notorious Murders, Rapes, Robberies, and other Acts of Inhumanity and Barbarism, raging without Controul or Punishment; whereupon he, without any manner of Scruple, or further Inquisition into particular Titles resolving, it seems, to make good by the Sword the Pope's Donation made a general seizure of all the Lands of the whole Kingdom and without further Ceremony took them into his own Hands: the more speedily to introduce Religion and Civility, and accomplish the Work so gloriously begun, the King called a great Council at Lismore where he caused the Laws of *England* to be received, and settled in *Ireland*, which he united to the Imperial Crown of *England*, and distributed the whole Land among the *English* Officers and Soldiers.

A learned Author, in his Observations upon the Causes of the sudden reducing of *Ireland*, gives this as one Reason thereof; That a Synod or Council of the Clergy being assembled at *Armagh* and that Point fully debated, it was unanimously agreed, "That the Signs of the People, and particularly their buying of *English* men from Pirates, and detaining them under most miserable Bondage, was one great Occasion of the heavy Judgment fallen upon the Nation, and that Heaven, by way, of just Retaliation, had now suffered them to be reduced by the *English* to the same Slavery."

Where-

Whereupon they order'd all the *English* in Captivity throughout the Land to be released: If so heavy a Judgment fell upon them for the hard Usage of some few *English*, what Expiation can they now pretend to make for the Effusion of so much innocent Blood in 1641, when in two Years Time above three hundred thousand Protestants were cruelly murdered in cold Blood.

King *John* came into *Ireland* in his Minority, to little Purpose, but upon a second general Defection in the 12th Year of his Reign, he made a second Expedition thither, and built several Forts and strong Castles, many of which remain to this Day; he erected Courts of Judicature, and settled the *English* Colonies and civil Government; King *Richard II.* upon the same Occasion made two Voyages thither in Person, but both these Princes, to save *English* Blood and Treasure, and having likewise Troubles at Home, were both content to suffer themselves to be abused by the feigned Submissions of the *Irish*, who finding their present Inability to resist such great Forces, came from the farthest Parts of the Kingdom to submit to their Mercy; and yet some have observed, that they left not one true Subject more behind them than they found at first Arrival. However, by the Presence of these Princes, and the Care of the Governors set over them the first Adventurers and others of the *English* Nation, drove the *Irish* out of all the habitable Parts of the Country, especially those on the Sea coasts, and afterwards grew so potent, that they entertained private Animosities against each other, yea, their Dissentions were so great, that at length they drew in the *Irish*, whom they had driven up into the Mountains, and ever esteemed their most deadly Enemies, to take Part

in



in their Quarrels, shamelessly using their Alliance for the Enlargement of their own private Territories, against their own Compatriots and joint Tenants in that good Land; the *Irish* glad of the Occasion, fomented these Broils among the *English*, whom they mortally hated, to the utmost, and notwithstanding the great Privileges they enjoyed by their Protection, always shewed the utmost aversion to them and their Laws, in so much, that besides the five *Irish* Kings and their Families, aforementioned, the rest of that Nation were always reckoned Aliens, and absolute Enemies; so that from *Henry II.* to *Henry VIII.* none were admitted to be Subjects, or received any Benefit by the *English* Laws, but such as purchased Charters of Denization; and it was no capital Offence to kill any of them, since the Laws did neither protect their Lives nor revenge their Deaths, so that living in the Bogs and Woods on the Mountains, they, upon all Occasions, declared their Malice and Hatred against the *English* Colonies planted near them.

However, the *English* were still Owners and Possessors of the Kingdom, and kept themselves almost entire for the first hundred Years after their Arrival, not suffering the *Irish* to live promiscuously among them, but by an high Hand, kept them in due Obedience and Subjection to the Crown of England: And when they afterwards grew more careless and entermingled among 'em, whereby the *English* learned their beastly Manners and Customs, there were very severe Laws made against them: so that in the Reign of King *Edward III.* it was declar'd High treason to marry with the *Irish* or to let them Nurse their Children and to use the *Irish* Language, Names, or Apparel was made Premunire, that is, to lose their Estates, and be perpetually imprisoned: And tho' in

After Ages, the *English* endeavoured to civilize the People. and introduce the *English* Laws, Language, Habit and Customs among them, thereby to reduce them to Civility, yet such was their stubborn rebellious Disposition, and their implacable Malice to the *English*, that nothing could attempt or reduce them to any tolerable Patience, nor persuade them to live peaceably among them; so that in all Times, as well when they were admitted into the Condition of Subjects, as while they were esteemed and treated as Enemies, they took all Advantages, most perfidiously, to rise up and imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their *English* Neighbours; and Ireland hath long continued a true *Aceldama*, or Field of Blood, and a dismal Sepulchre for the *English* Nation; for after their intermixing with the *Irish* they barbarously degenerated to their Manners and Customs insomuch, that by their intestine Broils, and the mischievous Attempts of the *Irish* upon them, the *English*, from their first Access to Ireland, till the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, being above 380 Years, had no settled Peace, nor comfortable Substantance amongst them, but were in such perpetual Troubles, and so over-worn with Misery, that they could scarce survive the universal Calamity that overspread the Face of the whole Kingdom.

Whereupon that excellent Queen, in the Beginning of her Reign, out of her pious Intentions and Affections to her People, took Care to redress their Disorders, and sending over prudent and religious Governors, made a great Reformation, by many good Laws enacted against the barbarous Customs of the *Irish*, and for the Execution of Justice throughout the Country, which were reduced into Shires, and Sheriffs and other Ministers of Justice placed in them, and the High Powers, Usurpations and Extortions of

of the *Irish* were restrained, and several destructive Customs repressed. The two presidential Courts of *Munster* and *Connaught* were then instituted, and special Order taken for Free-Schools to be erected, for educating Youth throughout the Kingdom; but these and other Courses for the Advancement of true Religion and Civility were highly disagreeable to the loose Humour of the Natives, who pretended the *English* Government was insupportable, and began desperately to struggle for their Liberty. Several Plots were laid, some by those who were of the old *English* by Extraction, and divers Rebellions and petty Revolts happened during that Queen's Reign, which she timely suppressed, either by Force or Favour, often renewing her Kindness to them, upon their continued Provocations, restoring some rebellious Lords to their forfeited Estates and Commands, and bestowing new Titles of Honour upon others; but all was in vain, the malignant Impressions of Irreligion and Barbarism, transmitted from their Ancestors, either by Infusion or natural Generation, had so irreparably stiffened their Necks, and hardened their Hearts, that they still retained all their wicked Customs and Inclinations without change in their Affections or Manners, having their Eyes inflamed, and their Minds enraged with Rapour and Revenge against the *English* Nation, breathing forth nothing but their Ruin, Destruction, and utter Extirpation; and resolving at once to disburden the whole Kingdom and their Posterity of them, and deliver themselves from their Subjection to the Crown of *England*, a desperate Rebellion was raised by the Earl of *Thyrone*, who had received Titles of Honour from the Queen, a Command of Horse and Foot, great Proportions of Land, and other Favours, which

he now ingratelully cancelled, engaging most of the *Irish* and some *English* degenerate Families in his treacherous Designs, and likewise calling in some foreign Forces to his Assistance. The Queen perceiving that no Obligation would secure the *Irish* Loyalty, resolv'd to reduce them by Force, which was done in a short Time, and Tyrone brought upon his Knees, though not without the Expence of much *English* Blood, above a Million of Money, the Country miserably wasted and a general Desolation and Famine overspreading the Land.

King James at his first coming to the Crown, conceiving, that the Powerful Conjunction of *England* and *Scotland*, would overcome the *Irish*, and contain them in their due Obedience, resolv'd not to take any Advantage of these Forfeitures and great Confiscations, which he was most justly entitled to by Tyrone's Rebellion, but restored all the Natives to the entire Possession of their own Lands; after which, for six Years, the Country was indifferent quiet, when Tyrone made a second Insurrection, and drew in the whole Province of *Ulster*, who were absolutely at his Devotion, to join with him; but his Plot failed him for not finding himself in a Capacity to resist the *English* Forces, he fled into *Spain*, promising speedily to return with foreign Succours; but by the Care of the Government this designed Rebellion was quelled in the Beginning, and Tyrone never came back: After which, King James being justly provoked by the high Ingratitude of these Traytors, caused their Persons to be attainted, and their Lands to be seized and distributed among the *British* Undertakers, many of whom came over and settled in the Province of *Ulster* with their Families, and built several good Towns and Castles in divers Parts of the Country,



Country, whereby much Civility was introduced, and the whole Kingdom began to flourish in costly Buildings, and all Manner of Improvements, and the very *Irish* seemed to be much satisfied with the Peace and Tranquillity they enjoyed.

King *Charles* the first was no less indulgent to them, for in 1640, upon the Complaint and Remonstrance sent him from both Houses of Parliament, then sitting at *Dublin*, representing the heavy Pressures they had suffered under the Government of the Earl of *Strafford*, he made present Provision for their Redress, constituting Sir *William Parsons* and Sir *John Burlace* Lords Justices of that Kingdom; who declared against the late Proceedings, as varying from the common Law, and abated the Subsidy that was given in the Earl of *Strafford's* Time, from 40,000 to 12,000 and soon after *Robert Sidney* Earl of *Leicester*, was made Lord Lieutenant. The Roman Catholicks likewise privately enjoyed the free Exercise of their Religion, and by the over-great Indulgence of the late Governors, had their titular Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars General, Provincial Consistories, Deans, Abbots, Priors and Nuns, who, without Controul, exercised a voluntary Jurisdiction over them; they had also their Priests, Jesuits and Fryars, who came in great Numbers from foreign Parts and, without Restraining, settled themselves in all the chief Towns, Villages, Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses, and none of the Laws were put in Execution against them, and the ancient Animosities between the two Nations seem'd to be buried, so that they lived together in Peace for 40 Years; Marriages and all other Indearments of Friendship, passing between them, and the *Irish* Lords and Gentlemen found such Advantage by the

*English* Commerce and Co-habitation, in the great Improvement of their Lands and native Commodities, beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, that *Phelim O Neal*, and many other principal Leaders in the succeeding Rebellion, had not long before turned their *Irish* Tenants out of their Lands, and exposed them to starve upon the Mountains, and took the *English* for their Tenants, who gave them greater Rents, and paid them more certainly; these and many other Symptoms of a flourishing Kingdom, seemed to declare, That the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation was fully settled, and humanly probable so to continue, and the *Irish* Army raised for the Invasion of *Scotland* was peaceably disbanded, and no Noise of War remained in the Coasts.

In this great Calm the *English* continu'd in a most deep Security, when on a sudden the *Irish* Papists raised a Rebellion, so execrable in itself, so odious to God and the whole World, as no Age, Kingdom nor People can parallel the horrid Cruelties and abominable Murders, that were without Number, as well as without Mercy, committed upon the *Brutish* Inhabitants throughout the Land, of what Sex, Age or Condition soever, which was long before presaged by some discerning Persons, particularly by the Excellent, learned and religious Arch-bishop *Usher* of *Armagh*, who, amongst many other extraordinary Gifts and Graces wherewith he was endowed, had a wonderful Spirit of Prophecy, from which among many other Things, he foretold this bloody Rebellion 40 Years before it came to pass, in a Sermon preached at *Dublin* in 1601. where, from *Ezek. 4. 6.* discoursing concerning the Prophets bearing the Iniquity of *Judah* 40 Days, the Lord therein appointed a Day for a

Year, he made this direct Application, in relation to the Connivance at Popery at that Time:

“ From this Year (says he) I will reckon the Sin of *Ireland*, that those whom you now embrace “ shall be your Ruin, and you shall bear your “ Iniquity.” Which Prediction proved exactly true; for from that Time, 1601, to 1641 was just 40 Years. It is observed, that the *Irish* have naturally a dull and deep Reservedness, which makes them carry on their Business with much Silence and Secrecy; but yet it is admirable to consider how this mischievous Plot, which was generally to be acted by several Persons, in divers Places at the same Time, should without any Noise be brought to the very Point of execution without any Notice or Intimation given to any two of that huge Multitude of Persons who were designed to be sacrificed in it. till October 23 which happened in the Manner following.

*Owen O’Conally*, a Gentleman of a meer *Irish* Family, but had long lived among the *English*, being a Servant to Sir *John Clothworthy*, and trained up in the Protestant Religion, came to the Lord Justice *Parsons*, about nine o’Clock that Evening, and gave an Account of a wicked and damnable Plot, contrived by the *Irish* Papists, for seizing the Castle of *Dublin* the very next Day with all the Arms and Ammunition therein: At the same Hour all other Forts and Magazines of Arms in the Kingdom; and that all the Protestant and *English* who would not join with them should be cut off; and thereby the Papists would be possess of the Government and Kingdom at the same Instant; upon this Discovery, the Lord Justices and Council, caused Recruits to be put into the Castle, and the City to be guarded, and then endeavoured to seize the Traytors many of whom came into the City that Night; and *Hugh*

*Mac-Mahon*

*Mac Mahon* Esq; Grandson to the Rebel *Tyrone* and the Lord *Mac Guire* two of the principal Conspirators, were made Prisoners; but several others of the chief escaped that Night; so that only thirty of the most inconsiderable were taken the great ones having too many Friends in the City, who further'd their escape, *Mac Mahon* being examined before the Council, without much Difficulty confess'd the Plot, resolutely telling them, "That on that very Day, October 23. 1641, all the Forts and strong places in Ireland would be taken; that he with the Lord *Mac Guire*, *Hugh Byrn*, Captain *Bryan O Neal*, and several other Irish Gentlemen, were come up expressly to surprize the Castle of *Dublin*, that 20 Men out of each County were to be there; to join with them; that all the Popish Lords and Gentlemen in the Kingdom were engaged in this Plot; that what was that Day to be done in other Parts of the Country, was so far advanced by that Time, as it was impossible for the Wit of Man to prevent it; and added, that it was true they had him now in their Power, and might use him how they pleased, but he was sure he should be revenged."

The next Day News arrived, that the Irish were risen in the Province of *Ulster* plundering, burning, and massacring the poor *English*, and the Rebellion appeared to be general over all the Northern Part of the Kingdom, and every Hour People arrived at *Dublin*, like *Job's* Messengers, telling the Story of their own sufferings, and the fearful Murders of the Protestants in all Parts from whence they came. The Rebels grew stronger every Day, and by the latter End of *October* had got Possession of all the Towns, Forts Castles and Gentlemen's Houses in seven whole Counties, and half the County of *Dawn*, ex-



cept Londonderry, Colerain, and the Town and Castles, of Inniskilling; this impetuous Torrent of Success, seemed to proceed from the great Security and Confidence the *English* had in the *Irish*, with whom they lived peaceably and quietly, and to whom they had not given the least Provocation: So that in the Northern Counties they were suddenly swallowed up, and over-run, before they could make any Manner of Resistance; for most of the *English*, having either *Irish* Tenants, Servants, Landlords, or familiar Neighbours: So soon as the Country began to rise about them, many fled to them for Preservation, and with great Confidence put their Lives, Wives, Children, and all they had in their Power; but these generally either betrayed them into the Hands of other Rebels, or most perfidiously murdered them with their own Hands.

The Priests had now influenced the *Irish* with bloody Maxims; and the Day before the horrid Massacre began, they gave the People a Dismission at Mass, with full Liberty to go out and take Possession of all their Lands, which they pretended were unjustly detained from them by the *English* assuring them. "That it was a mortal  
 " Sin to give any manner of Relief or Protection to the Protestants; and that they ought  
 " not to spare either Man, Woman or Child;  
 " that they might lawfully strip, rob and despoil  
 " them of all their Goods and Chattles; that the  
 " Protestants were worse than Dogs, for they  
 " were Devils, and worshiped the Devil; and  
 " that the killing of such was an excellent Preservative against the Pains of Purgatory, since  
 " the Bodies of such Catholicks, as should dye  
 " in this Quarrell, would not be cold before  
 " their Souls should ascend up to Heaven, without touching at Purgatory;" which cursed  
 Doctrine

Doctrine caused some of these murdering Villains to boast, That if they should dye presently, they were certain of going straight to Heaven.

Having thus received the Watch-word from their Priests, both as to Time and Place, they rose up, actuated, as it were, by the same Spirit in several Places, at one and the same Time, murdering and stripping some, and expelling others out of their Habitations; all Bonds of Faith and Friendship were now broken: the *Irish* Landlords made a Prey of their *English* Tenants; *Irish* Tenants and Servants made a Sacrifice of their *Eng<sup>l</sup>ish* Landlords and Masters; one Neighbour was cruelly murdered by another; yea, the very *Irish* Children stript and kill'd the *English* Children; and it was esteemed a meritorious Work in any of them, that could by any Means and Ways whatsoever bring an *English* Man to Slaughter. The *English* in the mean Time, though in some Churches and Castles, made a very Gallant Defence with small Parties, yet did not draw together in any considerable Body, so as to withstand the numerous Forces of the Rebels; so that generally every Man striving the best he could to secure his own Family, Goods and Catle, gave their Enemies Opportunity to destroy them all, which they acted with great Delight, to satiate their ancient implacable Malice, declaring, "That it did them a great deal of Good to wash their Hands in the Protestants Blood;" and so it appeared by the Examination of several *English* Persons, upon Oath, who gave the following Account of some of their most notorious Cruelties, and barbarous Murders.

That in the County of *Fermanagh* Multitudes were killed in cold Blood, some at the Plough, others

others as they sat peaceably in their own Houses, or travelling on the Way, without any manner of Provocation: At *Lisgol* Castle above 150 Men, Women and Children were burnt or smothered, the Rebels having set it on Fire: In the Castle of *Doneah* 90 Protestants were murdered; and in the Castle of *Tullah*, which was delivered upon promise of fair Quarters, they first stript, and then murdered them all without Mercy: At *Liffenekeah* they hanged and killed above 100 Sons. This County was very well planted by the *British* Undertakers, but all of them and their Tenants in a very short Space, were in a most horrible Manner destroyed, or banished from their Habitations. They compelled one *Middleton* to hear Mass, and to swear never to alter from it, and immediately after caused him, his Wife and Children, to be hanged up, and 100 Persons more in that Town. There were a thousand Men, Women and Children carried out at several times, and unmercifully drowned at *Portadown* Bridge, which was broken in the Midst, and 4000 more in several Parts of that Country, the Rebels thrusting them into the River with their Swords and Pikes, and if any endeavoured to swim they knock'd them on the Head, or shot them: Among others one Mrs *Campbell* being forcibly brought by them to the River, and finding no Means to escape their Fury, suddenly clapt her Arms about one of the chief Rebels, that was most forward to thrust her into the Water, and carried him to the Bottom with her, and so they were both drowned together. They burnt the Cathedral of *Armagh*, and murdered 500 Persons there, and 48 Families were murdered by Order of Sir *Phelim O'Neal* who had remained protected by him 3 Quarters of a Year before: *John Candor* being told by a Rebel,

Rebel, that he would not kill him till he had said his Prayers; the poor Man was no sooner on his Knees but he instantly cut off his Head. Some of the Villains, when the Protestants desired to make their Prayers before their Death, told them. "That they should bequeath their Souls to the Devil, and that they need not pray, for their Souls were with the Devil already;" and with these Words in their Mouths, would slaughter and put them to Death. Others they buried alive, and some were twice or thrice hanged up, and others wounded and left half dead, crying out lamentably, for some to come and dispatch them out of their Miseries, by killing them. At *Clownish* in the County of *Fermanagh*, 17 Persons being hanged till they were half dead, were cast together into a Pit, and covered with a little Earth, sending forth most lamentable Groans for a great while after, and among them four or five young Children, the youngest of whom not fully dead, put forth the Hand crying, *Mammy, Mammy*, to the murdered Mother; but was without Mercy buried alive by these Miscreants. Some they grievously wounded, and then hung them up upon Tenter-hooks; others were drawn with Ropes about their Necks through Woods and Bogs, and hanged up and taken down again several times, to make them confess their Money; these inhuman Monsters exercised horrid Cruelty on the Female Sex, whom they neither pitied nor spared hanging up several Women great with Child, and then ripped up their Bellies, letting the little Infants fall out, and using such barbarous beastly Actions towards them as are unfit to be related. At *Kinard* the Rebels sent abroad their Children in Troops, armed with long Whistles and Whips, therewith to heat the murdered



Bodies of Men about the Nudities, until they beat. or rather thresh'd them off; and for the villainous Service were received with great Joy by their Parents; and if any Women were found dead, lying with their Faces downward, they would turn them on their Backs, and in great Numbers, the *Irish* would resort to look on them, censuring and abusing them with all manner of Filthiness: In *Sligo* 30 Protestants, Men and Women, were murdered in the Goal, after which the Villains placed some of the dead Bodies of the Men naked upon the Bodies of the Women, in which Posture they continued to be seen by the *Irish* of the Town next Morning. who much delighted and rejoiced in these inhuman Actions; and they that came to bury the Prisoners, stood up to the Mid leg in the Blood and Brains of those that were so murdered; after which the River of *Sligo*, which used to abound in Fish, afforded none at all for a long Time, though the Fryars in their white Habits, went in solemn Procession and threw Holy-Water therein.

It would be almost endless to give a particular Account of all the detestable Cruelties and Murders acted by these incarnate Devils upon the innocent *English* of whom they destroyed near three hundred thousand in a few Months. being chiefly animated thereto by their villainous Priests upon the Account of their Religion; and therefore they often declared their Despight to the Bible, as being directly contrary to their cursed Principles and Practices. In one Place they burnt two Bibles, saying, "It was Hell Fire they burnt." They laid another in a Puddle of Water, and then stamping on it, said, "A Plague on it, this Bible bred all the Quarrel." A Rebel persuading a Man and his Wife to join with them in the Massacre, who protested

tested, that rather than they would forsake their Religion, they would dye upon the Sword's Point; he would then have had the Woman burn her Bible, but she refused, saying, "She would rather dye than do it;" whereupon they were both cruelly murdered. They murdered Mr. *Bingham*, a famous Minister, and cutting off his Head, put a Gag in his Mouth, and laying a Leaf of a Bible before him, bid him preach, saying, his Mouth was open and wide enough.

During these horrid Barbarities there were several Indications of divine Displeasure apparent in divers Places, the Truth of which was sworn to, and affirm'd by Witnesses of Credit and Reputation: As in the Province of *Munster*, near the Silver Works, where, while the Rebels were massacring a great Number of Protestant Men, Women and Children, on the Lords Day Afternoon, a most loud and dreadful Noise and Storm of Thunder, Lightning, Wind, Hail-stones and Rain happened, though it was fair all the Day before; which much affrighted the Murtherers themselves, who confest it to be a Sign of God's Anger against them for their bloody Cruelty. At *Portadown* Bridge, where so many thousand Protestants were drowned, the remaining Inhabitants were so terrified with the Noise of Spirits and Visions, for Revenge, that they durst not continue thereabout; and some of the Rebels themselves said to others, that the Blood of some of those that were knockt on the Head, and afterward drowned in the River, remained on the Bridge and could not be wash'd away; there appeared sometimes Men, sometimes Women, Breast high in the River, with Hands lifted up crying out with fearful Shrieks and Voices *Revenge, Revenge, Revenge*; and it was not long e'er divine

Justice overtook them; many thousands of the most notorious Murderers, who perished by the Sword and Plague that followed it; so that it was computed, that in a few Years scarce any of these Miscreants remained alive, but were sent to their own Place, to give an Account of their tremendous Brutalities.

The King having made a Truce with the Scots, who were entered with an Army into England to demand the Redress of their Grievances, and the Forces on both Sides being disbanded, he made a Journey into Scotland in the Beginning of August 1641, and continued there till the latter end of October, when this horrid Rebellion happened. Owen O Conally, the first Discoverer of the Plot, brought the first Letters to London, and received as a Reward 500 l. in Money, and an Annuity of 200 l. a Year; and presently the Parliament provided for the Relief of Ireland; and the Lords of the Council, and the Lords Justices there, had with the Arms that were in Dublin armed many well effected Gentlemen, and several active Commanders were sent out of the City, to defend the adjoining Places from the Approach of the Rebels; at which Time the Parliament sent over twenty thousand Pounds for a present Supply, but could not relieve them with any Forces till December following, when Sir Simon Harcourt arrived with seasonable Supplies of Men and Money, and raised the Siege of Drogheda, which had been much straitned by Sir Phelim O Neal and the Rebels; and the English recovered Dundalk, Newry, and several other Towns and Castles out of their Hands.

But though the Rebellion broke out in October 23, yet the King who was now returned from Scotland, did not proclaim them Rebels till January 1 following, and then gave strict Command,

that

that only 40 Proclamations should be printed; and that none of them should be published without the King's express Order; which the Parliament, among other things, afterwards taxed him with; who replied thereto, "That he was unwilling to make the *Irish* desperate, and utterly undo his Protestant Subjects, who were then too weak to withstand so potent a Rebellion; and that the Lords Justices of *Ireland* required only 20, as many of themselves well knew." Yet this Proceeding unhappily increased the Jealousies that begun to arise between the King and his *English* Parliament; because it was publicly discouried that it had not been done at all, but that some worthy Protestant Lords had earnestly advised him to proclaim them speedily, that a better Course might be taken against them, and to wash off that foul Stain from himself, by prosecuting severely those wicked Villains, who reported every where, "That they had Authority from the King to seize upon the Holds of the *English* Protestants; that they were the Queen's Soldiers, and rose to maintain the King's Prerogative, against the Puritan Parliament of *England*; that, they told the poor Protestants, it was to no Purpose to fly for Safety into *England*; for that Kingdom would be as much distressed as theirs; and that the King intended to forsake his Parliament in *England*, and make War against them, and that then they would come over (having done their Work in *Ireland*) and help the King against the *English* Parliament." The Lords therefore advised him, by all Means, to purge himself of these Accusations; than which there could not be greater on Earth.

Soon after the Earl of *Leicester* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Strafford* being beheaded some Time before on *Tower-Hill*; but the



the Relief of that bleeding Kingdom was much obstructed by the wide Breaches which daily happened between the King and the Parliament, particularly upon his going. *January 4.* attended with 300 armed Gentlemen, into the House of Commons, and demanding five Members to be delivered him, which the Parliament declared to be "An high Breach of their Privileges, a great Scandal to the King and his Government, a seditious Act, manifestly tending to the Subversion of the Peace, and an Injury and Dishonour to the said Members, there being no legal Charge or Accusation against them; and that there could be no Vindication of those Privileges, unless his Majesty would discover the Names of those who advised him to such unlawful Courses." After this, the Parliament considered of a Bill for pressing Soldiers to be sent out of *Scotland* into *Ireland* as being near; but the King excepted against it, while it lay in the House of Lords, as a Diminution to his Prerogative; whereupon the Parliament, in their Petition to him, asserted, "That the King, by taking Notice of a Bill while in Debate in the House of Lords, had broken the fundamental Privilege of Parliament, which he ought not to do, concerning any Bill, till it be presented to him in due Course of Parliament; and desired Reparation." They then desired that an Army of *Scots* should be sent thither, and that they should have the keeping of the Town and Castle of *Carrickfergus*; but the King said, that he doubted this might be to the Damage of *England*; the *Scots* Commissioners replied, "That they were sorry his Majesty, being their native King should repose less Trust in them than their neighbouring Nation had freely done." So that at length, this was granted.

It was thought to be the most feasible Way for reducing *Ireland*, that Proportions of Land there should be shared among the *English* Adventurers, proportional to those Sums of Money they should subscribe; that so, whosoever, in Person or Purse, should assist in conquering the bloody Rebels might be recompensed, if the Work were done; and Propositions were framed in Parliament to that Purpose, which the King confirmed, though at first he laughed at them, and was heard to say, *That they were like to him who sold the Bear's Skin before the Bear was killed.* At length an Act was passed for empowering the Parliament to carry on that War, till *Ireland* should be declared wholly subdued, and that no Peace or Cessation of Arms should ever be made with the Rebels, without Consent of both Houses of Parliament. The King then offered to go in Person thither; but the Parliament thought it not fit to hazard his Person in such an Expedition.

The Queen, about *February*, went to *Holland*, carrying with her most of the Crown Jewels, which she had pledg'd for Money and Arms for the King her Husband, and for which she was afterwards voted a Traitor by the Parliament: The King having taken Leave of her at *Dover*, went with the Prince and Duke of *York* to *Theobalds*, and from thence to *Newmarket*, where both Houses presented him a Declaration sent by two Lords, in which they repeated the old Grievances, the War of *Scotland*, the Rebellion in *Ireland*, his entering the House of Commons, his causeless Fear of residing near *London*, to the perplexing of the Kingdom, the hindring the Relief of *Ireland*, and encouraging the ill affected Party in the Kingdom. To which the King answered with great Indignation, extenuating some Things and

and excusing others, accusing them for raising needless Fears and Jealousies: After which the King passed farther North to *York*; upon which the Parliament voted, "That the King's Absence, so remote from his Parliament, is not only an Obstruction, but may be a Destruction to the Affairs of *Ireland*: That when the Lords and Commons in Parliament shall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a Command that it should not be obeyed, is an high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament: That they which advised the King to absent himself from his Parliament, are Enemies to the Peace of this Kingdom; and justly to be suspected as Favourers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*."

From *York* the King sent a Message to the Parliament, *April 8. 1642*, That he would go in Person over to *Ireland* against those bloody Rebels, and intended to raise a Guard for his Person in *Cheshire*, to carry thither, of 2000 Foot and 100 Horse, whom he would arm from his Magazine of *Hull*: But the Parliament having Intimation that the King designed to seize that Magazine, to arm himself against them, sent Sir *John Hotham* thither, who refused to admit him Entrance; upon which the King proclaimed him Traitor, and complained to the Parliament of the Affront, who endeavoured to appease him, but justified *Hotham's* Act, and declared that the proclaiming him Traitor, without Process of Law, was against the Liberty of the Subject, and Laws of the Land.

The King daily summoned the Gentry of the Northern Counties to attend him at *York*, as a Guard to his Person, which he declared was in Danger from the Parliament, who thereupon declared,

clared. " That it appears, that the King, seduced by wicked Counsel intends to make War against the Parliament, who, in all their Consultations, and Actions, have proposed no other End to themselves but the Care of his Kingdoms, and the Performance of all Duty and Loyalty to his Person; that whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of the Government; that whosoever shall serve and assist him in such Wars, are Traitors by the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and have been so adjudged by two Acts of Parliament. 11 Richard II. and 1 Henry IV. and that such Persons ought to suffer as Traitors." The King justified himself in his Declarations and Proclamations against the Parliament, which daily encountered each other, so that all Things tended to an absolute Rupture, and pre-  
saged the Calamities of the Civil War which soon after followed; for both Sides flying to Arms and the Nation being divided into Parties, several bloody Battles were fought, and the whole Kingdom was in a Flame.

In 1643 the Parliament of *England* invited the *Scots* to come in to their Assistance, with an Army of 21000 Horse and Foot, engaging to pay them an hundred thousand Pounds toward the Charge of raising them. On the other Side, the King to withdraw the Protestant Army out of *Ireland* for aiding him against the *Scots*, concluded a Cessation of Arms for a Year with those Rebels, and 3000 of the *English* Army were embarked from thence to join with the King: This Cessation was much complained of by the Parliament, since it was not only for the Benefit of the *Irish* Rebels, who gave him 300000 for the Favour, but  
also



also directly contrary to the Act which the King had lately sign'd. That no Cessation should be made without the Consent of both Houses. Thus was Assistance brought to either Side, and that *English* Army which, for almost a Year, had fought valiantly and victoriously against those Rebels, was now brought over to fight against the Parliament of *England*.

The War still continued with much Vigour, and a great Slaughter was made throughout the Kingdom; yet in the midst thereof some Glimmerings of Peace began to appear, for 1644 Conditions were propos'd both by the King and Parliament, and a Treaty began at *Uxbridge*, between Commissioners from both Parties; during which the Care of the War was not neglected on either Side, the King endeavouring to bring over some Forces from the Duke of *Lorain*, and some *Irish* to his Assistance; and by his Letters to the Lord Lieutenant to make a Peace with the Rebels, or at least to continue the Cessation for a Year, and to promise and grant them the free Exercise of the *Romish* Religion, assuring them, that if by their Assistance he could but finish his War in *England*, he would abrogate those Laws made against the Papists there: He gave Thanks likewise to *Muskeny*, *Plunket* and others of that Party, promising a pardon for all that was past; but they were much troubled at the Treaty of Peace with the Parliament, being sensible that one necessary Condition thereof, must be the vigorous Prosecution of the War in *Ireland*. The King, to remove this Fear, writ to the Lord Lieutenant. " That he could not refuse to make " a Peace with his Parliament, only upon the account of those *Irish*, it being a Point not popular; yet from that Consideration the Lieutenant might raise an Advantage, to hasten a Peace

Peace with them, in letting them know their own Danger, by being excluded from all Hope of Pardon from the Parliament; for (saith he) if we agree upon all other Conditions, it will not be convenient for me to disagree, only concerning those *Irish*: Therefore let them take what I offer, while Time is, and hasten the Peace, and when once my Faith is passed, no human Force shall make me break it."

The Queen also being then in *France*, writing to her Husband, seemed to grieve much, that at *Uxbridge* they were to treat of Religion in the first Place, assuring him, "That if any Thing severe against the Catholicks should be concluded, and yet a Peace not be made, the King could not hope for any assistance from the Catholick Princes, or from the *Irish*, who must needs think, that after they had done their best they should at last be forsaken:" and often intreats the King that he would never forsake the Catholicks, who had faithfully served him in the Wars, &c. The Commissioners met at *Uxbridge*, but nothing at all was concluded at that Treaty. so that the War must decide it; In pursuance whereof both Parties strengthening themselves with fresh Forces, and the King's Army was very formidable; but not content with so great a Power of *English* Soldiers he seemed more earnest than before to get over the *Irish*, He had committed the Business to *Ormond* to make an absolute Peace; but perceiving their Demands were too high so that nothing was effected, he now employ'd the Earl of *Glamorgan*. Son to the Marquess of *Worcester*, a zealous Papist and therefore more acceptable with the Rebels, giving him full Power to make a Peace, and indulge to the *Irish* in whatever might seem needful; and this was transacted

transacted so secretly, that both the Lord Lieutenant, *Ormond*, and the Lord Digby Secretary of Ireland, were ignorant thereof, till it was afterwards discovered and made publick; but the King finding it difficult, to make such a Peace as would bring him certain Assistance, otherwise that he might throw all that Envy upon *Glamorgan* empower'd him, unknown to the rest; for so the Rebels sweetned with large Promises (unknown to *Ormond*) might the better admit of Conditions just in Shew, and openly excusable, and the King might draw from Ireland such Soldiers as would more firmly adhere to his Side, and whom he might trust (as being the greatest Haters of the *English* Protestants and despairing of Pardon) against the Parliament of *England*; he therefore gave Letters of Authority to *Glamorgan* in these Words;

“ Charles by the Grace of God, King of *England*,  
 “ &c, Defender of the Faith; To our Trusty  
 “ and Well-beloved Cousin, *Edward* Earl of *Gla-*  
 “ *morgan*, Greeting. Being confident of your Wi-  
 “ dom and Fidelity, we do by these Letters as  
 “ if under our Great Seal, grant unto you full  
 “ Power and Authority, to treat with the con-  
 “ federate Roman Catholicks in *Ireland* and to  
 “ indulge them in all those Things which Necessity  
 “ shall require, and which we cannot so com-  
 “ modiously do by our Lieutenant, nor our self  
 “ publicly own at present; therefore we com-  
 “ mand that you do this Business with as much  
 “ Secrecy as can be: Whatsoever you shall think  
 “ fit to be promised in my Name, that I do at-  
 “ test upon the Word of a King and a Christian,  
 “ to grant to those confederate Catholicks, who  
 “ by their Assistance have abundantly shewn  
 “ their Zeal to us and our Cause. Given at Ox-

ford, under our Royal Seal, *March 12th*, and 20th Year of our Reign."

In pursuance of these Powers, the Earl of *Glamorgan* assur'd the King he would land 6000 *Irish* Papist in *May* following in *Wales*, and with the Transport Ships block up *Milford haven*, having already to advance the same 30000 l. in Money, 10000 Muskets, 2000 Case of pistols, 800 Barrels of Powder besides his own Artillery, and Certainty of 30000 l. more. The King likewise oblig'd the Earl of *Antrim* to join with the Marquess of *Montross*, then in Arms in *Scotland* who engaged to send 10000 *Irish* thither from *Ireland*, where the Passage was shortest, to assist him. but was very deficient therein, being scarce able to send 1200 thither.

In 1644 the Parliament order'd the Arraignment of the Lord *Macguire* and Colonel *Mahon*, who were seized at *Dublin* the Night before the Discovery of the Rebellion there, and had been in the Town ever since: They were now brought to their Trial at the King's-bench Bar at *Westminster*, where *Macguire* insisted much upon his Peerage, but was over-ruled, and both found guilty of High Treason, by a Jury of *Middlesex* Gentlemen, and executed at *Tyburn*. In 1646 the Lord Lieutenant endeavoured to make the Cessation with the *Irish* a kind of Peace, which they condescended to upon the following Propositions.

1. That the Exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion should be in *Dublin* and *Drogheda*, and in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as free as in *Paris* and *Brussels*. 2. That the Privy Council of *Ireland* consist of Members true and faithful to his Majesty, and who have been Enemies to the Parliament. 3. That *Dublin*, *Drogheda*, *Trim*, *Newry*, *Catherlough*, *Carlinford* and all Protestant Garrisons be mann'd by the confederate Catholics,



licks, to keep the same for the Use of, the King, and Defence of the Kingdom. 4. That the said Counsellors, Generals, Commanders, and Soldiers, do swear and engage to fight against the Parliament of *England*, and all the King's Enemies; and that they will never come to any agreement with them to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Rights and the Kingdoms. That both Parties, according to their Oath of Association, shall to the best of their Power and Cunning, defend the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, the King's Rights, and Liberties of the Subject.

This Peace was kept by some of the moderate Papists, but was ill resented both by the Parliament of *England* and the Pope's Nuncio who influenced the most serious Papists; to put a stop to which, the Parliament sent 2000 Men from *Chester*, under Colonel *George Monk*, with three Commissioners to the Lord Lieutenant at *Dublin*, who refused to deliver the City to them, without the King's Command: So that after having treated the Commissioners, the *English* Forces were again embarked and landed at *Belfast* in *Ireland*, whereby they did very good Service against *Neal*, and his fellow Rebels, who had of late been too successful against the Protestants: On the other Side, the Nuncio's Party were so elevated with the Hopes of shaking off the *English* Yoke, neither of the two Kingdoms being now in a Capacity to relieve *Ireland*, that the *Romish* Clergy thunder'd out Excommunications against any that should acquiesce in the said Peace and Agreement, and with an Army of 17000 Horse and Foot, resolved to besiege *Dublin* which so startled the Protestants that the Lord Lieutenant was obliged to resume the former Treaty with the Parliament's Commissioners; and the King find-

the King that all his secret Transactions with the Earl of Glamorgan were discovered by the Letters taken at Naseby Fight, to the great Disgust of the People in general; and that all the Assurance he had from the Lord Lieutenant, and the Lord Digby were disappointed by the Fallacy and Treachery of the Rebels: He, though with much Reluctancy, consented that all Manner of Treaty with the Enemy should cease, the Earl of Glamorgan being for a Pretence imprison'd; the Lord Lieutenant being prest with the Danger of a Siege from the Roman Catholick Confederates in 1647. delivered up Dublin to the Parliaments Commissioners, he having artickled for his passing freely to the King, on whom he waited while the Army carried him (the King) about and afterwards put him to Death, and from thence, passed to France, from whence, about Sept. 1648, the Catholick Confederates, dreading a Storm from England, by Letters to the King, had importun'd him to send for the said Marquis of Ormond, late Lord Lieutenant; and order'd him to return again into Ireland upon their Engagement and Protestation of plenary Submission to his Majesty's Authority, and to him, as his Lieutenant, as being the only proper Person for that Employment. The Marquess accordingly undertook it, and making an Agreement with the Lord Inchiquen and his Forces, and likewise with those of the Marquis of Clonrickard, and the Earl of Castlehaven, and the confederate Catholicks, who had proclaimed the Nuncio's Party Rebels and Traytors; being all joyned under his Command, they design'd to reduce Dublin, then possess'd by the Parliament's Forces; but Differences soon arose about the Exercise of the Popish Religion and upon Points of Command, whereby Owen O Neal that had a considerable

considerable Party of *Irish* was obliged, who thereupon makes an Agreement with Colonel *Monk* in the Name of the Parliament, though they afterwards disclaimed it, (but acknowledged his Faithfulness and well Meaning therein by a Vote of Parliament) considering how odious it would be, to have Assistance from *Irish* Rebels, however he aided them all he could, and relieved *Londonderry*, then besieged by the confederate Forces: At length the Marquis of *Ormond* comes before *Dublin* with his Army, and obliges Colonel *Jones* the Governor, who had drawn out some of the Garrisons to interrupt them, to retire into the City, which was indifferently fortified, and plentifully mann'd, both with Horse and Foot; and therefore he durst not venture his Army upon a desperate Assault, since the Garrisons of *Drogheda* and *Trim* lay so convenient to attempt upon them, commanded by Colonel *Monk* and *O Neal*; so that the Marquis wanting Money and Provisions and the *English* and *Irish* Forces nurmuring against each other, he was almost resolved to have marched away; but *Neal's* Party being soon after defeated, and a Convoy of Arms and Ammunition, which was sent by Colonel *Monk*, being taken by the Lord *Inchiqueen*, *Drogheda* was surrendered, together with *Dundalk*, the Garrison compelling Colonel *Monk* to deliver it, and the Soldiers took up Arms for the King; the Garrison of *Trim* was soon after taken from the Parliament; after which the Lord *Inchiqueen* brings up his Forces, now much increased to assist the Marquis at the Siege of *Dublin*, who designed to shut up the Garrison within their Works, and hinder them from getting Forage, or to graze their Cattle without the Line, which was drawn round the Town. The Besieged perceiving the Danger of being

the

thus closely confined, whereby they would have been prevented of all Succour both from Land and Sea, and knowing the Marquis's want of Horse to guard the new Forts, resolved, by a desperate Sally, to disturb them, which they made accordingly, Aug. 2. 1649, about 8 in the Morning, with 1200 Foot and 4000 Horse; and finding the new Fortifications slight, and the Resistance weak they soon were Masters of it, from whence seeing the Irish fly in great Disorder, they contrary to the first Intentions pursued the Besiegers even to the Avenues of their Camp, and being animated by Colonel Jones their Governor, who had newly received a Supply of 3000 Men from England, they fell with such Fury upon the whole Army at Rathmines, consisting of 19000 Men that in a short Time they put them to the Rout, killing 4000 on the Place, and making 2517 Prisoners, many of them Persons of Quality, taking all their Cannon, and a rich Camp to reward the Soldiers. Most of the Lord Inchiqueen's Foot, that at first made some Resistance, seeing the Day lost, changed Sides, and joyned with the Parliament's Forces. All this was done in so short a Space, and with so little Noise, that the Lord Dillon and the rest of the Marquis's Forces on the other Side the River Liffey, knew nothing of it till some Runaways brought the News, the Irish making such Haste home in so panick a Fear that the Lord Lieutenant could not possibly rally them; and therefore fled with a considerable Party to Kilkenny, and therefore endeavoured to draw together as many of his dispers'd Troops as possible, with which he speeds away to Trim and Drogheda, where he had Notice that Oliver Cromwell, the Parliament's General, was landed with considerable Forces, upon which he put a Garrison of 300 Horse



Horse and 2500 Foot into *Drogheda*, which was thought sufficient; and having furnished it with what Provision he was able, and made Sir *Arthur Aston* Governor, went from thence to *Trim* and *Terrogan*; about this Time *Londonderry*, possessed by the Parliament, and besieged by *Ormond's* Forces, was relieved, and the Siege raised; and not long after a Ship from *Spain* brought the Plague into *Galway*, whereof a great Number of the Irish died.

*Cromwell* having refresh'd his Men at *Dublin*, marches to besiege *Drogheda*, and made himself Master of it in a little Time, after a stout Resistance from the Garrison, putting most of the Officers. and every tenth Soldier to the Sword, to terrify others from making Opposition against his victorious Arms, Sir *Arthur Aston*, and several other principal Officers and Gentlemen, with near 3000 Soldiers, being slain: After this *Cromwell* besieges the Town of *Wexford*, and soon reduced it, even before the Lord Lieutenant's Eyes, with the Loss of 2000 of the Irish; upon this the Marquis makes an Agreement with *Owen O'Neal*, whereby the *Ulster* Army were to join with his, under the Command of *Luke Taaf*, who was made Governor of *Ross*. but soon forced to surrender it to General *Cromwell*; after which the Garrisons of *Bandon Bridge*, *Youghall*, *Cork*, *Kinsale*, and all the English Towns in *Munster*, declared for the Parliament; and *Cromwell* marched to besiege *Dungannon*, but finding little Hopes of reducing it quickly, he resolves to go to *Kilkenny*, and the Marquis of *Ormond* and the Lord *Inchiqueen* retiring, without hindring his March, he took in several strong Towns and Forts, and at length attacks *Kilkenny* with such Vigour that he took it in six Days Time; after which he besieges *Clonmell*, a strong Garrison, during which Co-

lone

Colonel Reynolds and Hewson attack Trim, and the Lord Broghill defeats the Bishop of Ross, who designed to relieve Clonmell, which soon after was taken by Assault, and a great Carnage made because of their Obstinacy in defending the same. After this Cromwell, having in ten Months done the Work of so many Years, returns to England, and Colonel Ireton, being made Lord Deputy, is sent over thither, there being only Limerick, Waterford, Galway, and some few Castles in the Hands of the Irish, the first of which was surrender'd to him October 29. 1651, but he dying Colonel Edmund Ludlow succeeded him as Lieutenant General of the Army of that Kingdom. The War was now almost at an End, and the Lord Clanrickard being in Galway, sends a Letter to Ludlow, to desire him to appoint Commissioners to meet with others, for the Composure and Conclusion of this wasting bloody War; which Ludlow refused, but sent him Word, "That if the Irish would submit, they should have such Articles and Conditions as were fit for them." This prevailed on several Parties, as the Lord Muskerries, Fitz-Patricks, and the O Droyrs, to come in and submit, upon Condition they might transport their Forces into the Service of the King of Spain. The Earl of Ormond and the Lord Inchiqueen not pleased with the Face of Affairs, left the Kingdom some Time before, and went to France; and in 1652 the remaining Irish, under the Lord Clanrickard having received several defeats by the English Forces, May 12. Galway was surrender'd and afterward the whole Country was reduc'd to the Obedience of the English Parliament. Sir Phelim O Neal, the arch-Rebel being likewise taken, hang'd and quarter'd. The last of the Irish who held out in the Bogs and Fastnesses, was General O Brion, who at length find-

ing the Weakness of his Party, and weary of his skulking Condition, obtain'd the usual Articles of Transportation; upon which Articles it was reckoned, that from the Year 1652 to 1653 near 27000 Irish had departed the Kingdom and the rest were transported into the Province of *Connaught*, environ'd on one Side by Sea, and lock'd up by Rivers and Garrisons on the other, out of which they were not to stir under a severe Penalty; by this Means the Country was much depopulated, and the Lord *Fleetwood* and the Commissioners in *Ireland* sent over Letters, that some *English* Colonies might be sent thither to inhabit, great Privileges being offer'd

them that would transport themselves; and accordingly went over to better their Fortunes, and in a short Time this harassed and ruined Kingdom began to flourish again, both in Tillage, Buildings, and all other Accommodations.

I have been very brief in relating any Thing of the Affairs of *England*, or of the Actions of *Oliver Cromwell* in that Kingdom, having already publish'd two Books, one the History of the Wars of *England*, with all the most remarkable Passages till the Death of King *Charles I.* and his Tryal and last Speech at large; and another call'd the History of the Life and Actions of *Oliver Cromwell*, with his Death and burial. both of the same Value with this; to which I refer the Reader for further Satisfaction.

In 1654 the Lord *Fleetwood* was sworn Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. Serjeant *Steel* was made Lord Chancellor, and Serjeant *Petys* Lord Chief Justice, Colonel *Hammond Carbet*, with others, being made of the Privy-Council. they ordered that March 1st, 1654. should be the longest Time allowed to the *Irish* to transport themselves out of that Kingdom, under very severe Penalties.

But a while after, *Oliver Cromwell* having taken the Government upon himself, with the Title of Lord Protector, in July 1655 *Henry Cromwell*, his Son, was made by him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the Place of the Lord Fleetwood, all Things still continuing very quiet there. The same Year Arch-bishop *Usher* of *Armagh* died, a Prelate of incomparable Learning and Piety, upon whose Funeral the Protector expended 200 l. After the Death of *Oliver Cromwell* his Son *Richard* succeeded; but in a short Time was removed from the Government by M. General *Lambert* and the Army, and the Remnant of the Long Parliament, restored in 1659, who sent Dispatches to the Lord *Henry*, to surrender the Government of *Ireland* to Chancellor *Steel*, and Lord Chief Baron *Corbet*, which he did without Opposition; and to oblige the Parliament the more, signified by an Express, that he was preparing to come for *England* with all Speed, to give them an Account of that Kingdom, which he had left in a very good Condition, and hoped that his Successors might reap more Content in the Government than he had found. After his Arrival he applied himself to the Council of State, and had Liberty, by an Order, to go into the Country, or whither he pleased.

But the Nation being discontented at the continual Fluctuations of the Government, the long Parliament being soon after turn'd out again by the Army, the People generally desir'd a free Parliament; and Gen. *Monk* marching out of *Scotland* with his Army, and reinstating the Parliament, and restoring the excluded Members, in March 1659, they dissolved themselves, having sent out Writs for electing new Representatives to meet April 25 following; and about the same Time Sir *Charles Coote* in *Ireland* declares himself for a



free Parliament, and thereupon possess himself of *Dublin* Castle, having before surpris'd *Galway* from Colonel *Sadler* in this Manner, He invited him and his Officers, all Zealots for the Long Parliament to his House over the Water to be merry ; which done Sir *Charles* pretended a Desire to drink a Glass of Wine in *Galway* privately with the Colonel ; so they two secretly took a Boat, with each a Servant, and being on the other Side, Sir *Charles* said, " Colonel *Sadler*, I am resolved for a free Parliament and  
 " to have this Garrison ; you have a Sword  
 " about you, draw and fight, or else engage  
 " your Honour you will make no disturbance  
 " in the Town upon our Admission, and my  
 " Declaration ;" To which *Sadler*, surpris'd and troubled, answer'd, He would acquiesce ; upon this he caus'd the Gate to be opened, and Sir *Charles* having declared himself, the Soldiers cry'd out, *A Coot, A Coot, and a free Parliament*. After this he secur'd *Sadler* and Sir *Hardress Waller* at *Dublin*, and immediately all *Ireland* declar'd themselves satisfied in this Change, offering their Lives and Fortunes in the Defence of the Parliament then assembled ; and soon after a Convention was call'd at *Dublin*, in the Nature of a Parliament, to provide for the Safety of the Kingdom, from whence the Lord *Shannon* Sir *John Clothworthy*, and Major *Aston*, were sent as Commissioners to *England*, where the Parliament voted the Restoration of King *Charles II.* and upon Notice thereof the like was done in *Ireland* and several of the most eminent of that Nation were, upon the King's Arrival at *Whitehall*, sent by the Convention to wait upon him in the Name of that Kingdom, with a Tender of their Allegiance, and a present of 4000 l. to the Duke of *York* ; and soon after the King was proclaim'd

and universally acknowledg'd throughout the Kingdom,

But it was not long ere the great Inclinations to the Popish Party in *Ireland* were made apparent in the Court of *England*, and several Disputes arose about the Settlement of that Kingdom, which were debated before the King and Council, where the Lord Chief Justice *Santry*, in an excellent Speech, represented to the Board the horrid Rebellion in 1641. with the barbarous and inhuman Massacres, which he had been Eye-witness of: In Opposition to which Sir *Nicholas Plumbell*, one of the Pope's Knights, endeavour'd to defend the *Irish*; but so weakly, having a bad Cause to manage, that the Lord *Santry* clearly carried the Point, in the Judgment of the Auditors; he desired that they might be tried by the Common Law, where they would meet with a fair and indifferent Tryal, by Juries of their Neighbours, and thereby could have no Wrong done them; but the King having dissolv'd the Convention, and called a Parliament in *Ireland*, he prevailed so much upon them, that an Act of Settlement was press'd, and a Court of Claims thereby erected, who were to determine all Differences between the *English* and *Irish* Proprietors of their Lands there, and to declare who were Nocent and who Innocent Papists. These Commissioners being nominated by the King, he had so great an Influence over them, that they commonly gave their Opinions according to his Direction, which was oftentimes very favourable to the *Irish* Rebels, particularly in the Case of the Earl of *Antrim*, one of the chief of them, as by the following Letter to the Duke of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant, and the Privy-Council there doth appear.

**R**ight Trusty; and well beloved Cousins and Counsellors, &c, We greet you well. How far we have been from interposing on the Behalf of any of our Irish Subjects, who by their Miscarriages in the late Rebellion in that Kingdom of Ireland, had made themselves unworthy of our Grace and Protection, is notorious to all Men; and we were so Jealous in that Particular, that shortly after our Return into this our Kingdom, when the Marquis of *Antrim* came hither to present his Duty to us, upon the Information we received from those Persons who then attended us, by a Deputation from our Kingdom of Ireland, or from those who at that Time owned our Authority there, that the Marquis of *Antrim* had so misbehaved himself towards us, and our late Royal Father, of Blessed Memory, that he was in no Degree worthy of the least Countenance from us, and that they had manifest and unquestionable Evidence of such his Guilt. Whereupon we refused to admit the said Marquis so much as into our Presence; but on the contrary, committed him Prisoner to our Tower of London, where after he had continued several Months under a strict Restraint, upon the continued Information of the said Persons, we sent him into Ireland, without interposing the least on his Behalf, but left him to undergo such a Tryal and Punishment, as by the Justice of that our Kingdom should be found due to his Crime, expecting still that some heinous Matter would be objected and proved against him, to make him incapable, and to deprive him of that Favour and Protection, from us which we know his former Actions and Services had merited. After many Months Attendance

tendance there, and (we presume) after such Examinations as were requisite, he was at last dismissed without any Censure, and without any Transmission of Charge against him to us, and with a Licence to transport himself into that Kingdom; we concluded that it was then Time to give him some Instance of our Favour, and to remember the many Services he had done, and the Sufferings he had undergone, for his Affections and Fidelity to our Royal Father and our Self, and that it was Time to redeem him from those Calamities, which yet do lye as heavy upon him since, as before our happy return. And thereupon we recommended him to you our Lieutenant, that you should move our Council there, for preparing a Bill to be transmitted to us, for the reinvesting him the said Marquis, in the Possession of his Estate in that our Kingdom, as had been done in some other Causes. To which Letter you our said Lieutenant return'd us Answer. That you had informed our Council of that our Letter, and that you were, upon Consideration thereof, unanimously of Opinion, that such a Bill ought not to be transmitted to us, the Reason whereof would forthwith be presented to us by our Council; after which we received the inclos'd Petition from the said Marquis, which we referr'd to the Considerations and Examinations of the Lords of our Privy-Council whose Names are mention'd in that our Reference, which is annex'd to the said Petition; who thereupon met together, and after having heard the Marquis of *Antrim*, did not think to make any Report to us till they might see and understand the Reasons which induc'd you not to transmit the Bill we had proposed, which Letter was not then come to our Hands. After which Time we having received your  
Let.



Letter of the 18th of *March*, together with several Petitions which have been presented to you as well from the old Soldiers and Adventurers, as from the Lady Marchiones of *Antrim*; all which we likewise transmitted to the Lords Referees upon a second Petition presented to us by the said Lord Marquis, which is here likewise enclosed, commanding our said Referees to take the same into their serious Consideration, and to hear what the Petitioner had to offer in his own Vindication, and to report the whole Matter to us; upon a third Petition herein likewise enclosed, we requir'd them to expedite with what Speed they could. By which deliberate Proceedings of ours you cannot but observe that no Importunity how just soever could prevail with us to bring our self to a Judgment in this Affair, without very ample Information. Our said Referees, after several Meetings, and perusal of what had been offered to them by the said Marquis have reported unto us. That they have seen several Letters, all of them the Hand writing of our Royal Father, to the said Marquis, and several Instructions concerning his treating and joining with the *Irish*, in order to the King's Service, by reducing them to their Obedience, and by drawing some Forces from them, for the Service of *Scotland*. That besides the Letters and Orders under his Majesty's Hand, they have received sufficient Evidence and Testimony of several private Messages and Directions sent from our Royal Father, and from our Royal Mother, with the Privy and with the Directions of the King our Father; by which they are persuaded, that whatever Intelligence Correspondence or Actings, the said Marquis had with the confederate *Irish* Catholicks. was directed or allowed by the said Letters, Instructions, and Directions; and that

it manifestly appears to them, That THE KING OUR FATHER WAS WELL PLEASED WITH WHAT THE MARQUIS DID AFTER HE HAD DONE IT, AND APPROVED THE SAME.

This being the true State of the Marquis's Case, and there being nothing proved upon the first Information against him, or any Thing contained against him in your Letter of *March 18*, but that you were informed he had put in his Claim before the Commissioners, appointed for executing the Act of Settlement; and that if his Innocency be such as is alledged, there is no Need of transmitting such a Bill to us as is desired; and that if he be innocent, it consists nor with the Duty which you owe to us, to transmit such a Bill, as if it should pass into a Law, must needs draw a great Prejudice upon so many Adventurers and Soldiers, which are, as is alledg'd, to be therein concerned. We have considered the Petition of the Adventurers and Soldiers which was transmitted to us by you; the Equity of which consists in nothing but that they have been peaceably in Possession, for the Space of seven or eight Years, of those Lands which were formerly the Estate of the Marquis of *Antrim* and others, who were all engaged in the late *Irish* Rebellion, and that they shall suffer very much, and be ruined, if those Lands should be taken from them. And we have likewise consider'd another Petition from several Citizens of *London* near sixty in Number directed to our self wherein they desire that the Marquis's Estate may be made liable to the Payment of his just Debts, that so they may not be ruin'd in the Favour of the present Possessors, who (they say) are but a few Citizens and Soldiers, who have disbursed very small Sums thereon.

Upon

Upon the whole Matter no Man can think we are less engaged by our Declaration, and by the Act of Settlement, to protect those who are innocent and who have faithfully endeavoured to serve the Crown, how unfortunate soever, than to expose to Justice those who have been really and maliciously guilty. And therefore we cannot in Justice, but upon the Petition of the Marquis of *Antrim* and after the serious and strict Inquisition into his Actions, declare unto you, That WE DO FIND HIM INNOCENT FROM ANY MALICE OR REBELLIOUS PURPOSE AGAINST THE CROWN; and that what he did by Way of Correspondence, or Compliance with the *Irish* Rebels, was in order to the Service of our Royal Father. and warranted by his Instructions, and the Trust reposed in him; and that the Benefit thereof accrued to the Service of the Crown and not to the particular Advantage and Benefit of the Marquis. And as we cannot in Justice deny him this Testimony, so we require you to transmit our Letter to our Commissioners, that they may know our Judgment in this Case of the Lord of *Antrim*, and proceed accordingly. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at *White-hall*, July 10 in the 15th Year of our Reign, 1663.

To our Right Trusty and Right intirely well beloved Cousin and Counsellor James D. of Ormond, our Lieutenant General Governor of our Kingdom of Ireland; and to the Lords of our Council of that our Kingdom.

By his Majesty's  
Command.

*Henry Bennet.*

Enter'd at the Signet-Office, July 13. 1663:

Soon

Soon after the following Answer of the Duke of Ormond, and the Irish Privy Council, to the foregoing Letter, was sent to Sir Henry Bennet, principal Secretary of State.

ON the 20th, I the Lord Lieutenant received his Majesty's Letter of July 10. concerning the Marquis of Antrim, which I imparted to the Council; upon reading whereof at this Board, we observing that though in several other Matters relating to the Proceedings of his Majesty's Commissioners, appointed for executing the Act of Settlement, his Majesty vouchsafed to direct this Letter to the Commissioners; yet that those Letters concerning the Marquis of Antrim are directed to us the Lieutenant and council, requiring us to transmit the same to the Commissioners, that they may know his Majesty's Judgment in the Case of the Lord Antrim, as it stands stated in those his Majesty's Letters, and proceeded accordingly; We hence gathered, that his Majesty did judge it fit, that those his Letters for the Marquis of Antrim should be directed to us, to the End that if we his Majesty's Servants here upon the Place, should find more in the Marquis of Antrim's Case, than are in those Letters taken Notice of, either in relation to his Majesty or his Affairs, then in such Case we might humbly represent the same to his Majesty: And as it was the Use and Custom here in former Times, and particularly in the Times of his Majesty's Royal Father of blessed Memory, that if any Directions came from the King, which in the Execution thereof might occasion Inconveniences to his Majesty's Service, the same was stayed, until the Matter was by the chief Governor here humbly represented to the King; so it is also agreeable to his Majesty's Instructions



to me, the Lord Lieutenant, particularly in Things relating to his Majesty's Revenue, which likewise is the present Case; for his Majesty's Revenues are like to be hereby much lessened; and moreover it is agreeable likewise with his now Majesty's gracious Pleasure, signified thither by the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council, by their Letters of Aug. 12, 1661. directed to the late Justices and Council. wherein it was declar'd, That his Majesty and the Lords of the most honourable Privy-Council, were well assured of a Demur the said Justices and Council had made upon Letters from his Majesty, and their Forbearance to proceed thereupon till they should receive his Majesty's further Pleasure; and therefore, upon full Consideration thereof had at this Board, we humbly conceive that it is our Duty to his Majesty to defer for some time, the transmitting the said Letters to the said Commissioners, till we shall have represented to his Majesty that which appears to us here; which it seems was not made known to his Majesty, or those Lords of the Privy-Council, to whose Consideration his Majesty refer'd the Marquis of *Antrim's* Petitions, mentioned in his Majesty's Letters; we observe that his Majesty's said Letters seem to be grounded on these Particulars, 1. That after many Months Attendance here, and as his Majesty is pleased to declare, that he presumes that after such Examinations as were requisite, the Marquis of *Antrim* was dismissed hence without any Censure, and without transmitting any Charge against him to his Majesty, and nothing proved against him on the first Information, nor any Thing contained against him in our Letters of March 18, 3. The Report made by these Lords of his Majesty's

most honourable Privy-Council, to whom his Majesty reterr'd the Consideration of the Lord of *Antrim's* Petitions. 3- That the Marquis's Case, as it now stands stated in those Letters, is the true State of his Case. As to the first, we find that the Lords of his Majesty's Privy-Council, by their Letters of *Dec. 19. 1660.* directed to the Justices of this Kingdom, signified that the Marquis of *Antrim*, then Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, petitioned his Majesty to be heard, as to his being criminal, in the aspersing the Memory of the late King our Sovereign; and their Lordships, by these Letters, requir'd the Justices with all convenient Speed, to send their Lordships authentic Copies of all Papers whatsoever, under his own Hand, or any other, which may any way relate to the said Marquis's being guilty of so foul a Crime, as the defaming his late Majesty; and that the Justices should cause all such Witnesses to reside in this Kingdom, who can alledge any Thing to the proving thereof, to be examined, and the Examinations to be returned to their Lordships attested by us, and the Justices appointed to take the same, and in pursuance of those Letters, the Justices caused a Commission to issue under his Majesty's Great Seal, to several Persons, some of them Members of this Board, and some of his Majesty's Judges, and some of his learned Council, to call before them and examine Witnesses upon Oath, concerning the Lord of *Antrim's* aspersing the Memory of his late Majesty. That those Commissioners, having examin'd several Witnesses, and return'd their Examinations to the Justices, with their Letters of *February 20. 1660.* directed to the Lords of his Majesty's Privy-Council, transmitted the same to their Lordships. That *March 29. 1661.* it was order'd by his Majesty

in Council, that in Order to a farther Proceeding here against the Lord *Antrim*, the Examinations and other Papers should be returned hither. Thus far the Matter proceeded before the Arrival of the Lord Lieutenant in this Kingdom. *August* 18, 1661, the Lord Chief Justice *Smyth* made a Report at this Board, of the Examinations taken concerning the Marquis; and upon his Petition it was order'd, That the Chief Justice should cancel the Recognizance acknowledged by the Marquis and his Sureties, and as to his being criminal in aspersing and defaming the Memory of his Majesty's Royal Father, we humbly crave leave to send herewith the said Examinations and other Papers concerning the same, which we humbly submit to his Majesty's Consideration, and we confess we are not willing upon these Examinations and Papers to aggravate any Thing against him; and therefore it was that there was no Censure, nor any Transmission of Charge against him to his Majesty; and as to our Letters of *March* 18 we confess there is nothing contained therein against him, nor indeed, under Favour, did we conceive it proper in these Letters to object any Thing of Crime to him; our Work in these Letters being but to inform his Majesty only of the Particulars then under Consideration, and what occur'd upon occasion of two Petitions exhibited, the one by the Lady Marchioness of *Antrim*, the other in the Name of several Adventurers and Soldiers, and their Assigns and Tenants; for we did not imagine the Lord Marquis would have attempted to put his Majesty upon a Difficulty of giving a Rule contrary to the Act of Settlement, but would have abiden the Tryal in the proper Way prescribed by the Act, wherein it is provided, that the said Marquis shall be restored

restored to his Estate in such Manner and Form and according to such Order and Method, and no other, as the Lord Viscount *Netterville* and the Lord Viscount *Gillmoy* ought, by Virtue of the Act, to be restored: And besides we had no Notice from thence, that the Matters relating to the said Marquis were under Debate or Consideration there; which might give us Occasion humbly to represent to his Majesty, those things which now, for his Majesty's Service, we are necessitated to do.

To the second, namely, the Report made, that those of the Lords of the Councils to whom his Majesty refer'd the Marquis's Petition, we must acknowledge the Justice of their Lordships Proceedings, upon what appeared to them; but there are some, which we do verily believe were not made known to them; and which do appear to us here, wherein we may not be silent without Breach of Justice to his Majesty: For I the Lord Lieutenant, do well know that the Peace made by me in 1646 and 1648, in this Kingdom, and both derived by Authority from his Majesty's Royal Father, were both opposed by the Lord Marquis of *Antrim*, who continually served with the Pope's Nuncio and his Adherents, against his Majesty's Authority, then intrusted with me the Lieutenant, and appeared Active in all assemblies and Councils, wherein he was present in open Opposition to all Members of those Assemblies and councils, who endeavoured to incline the People to Submission to the Peace; when I the Lord Lieutenant, labour'd earnestly by all just and honourable Ways and Means, to reduce his Majesty's Subjects in this Kingdom to their due Obedience to his Majesty, and to give him Assistance, whereof he stood in Need, in the greatest and most imaginable Necessity;

and



and when the Marquis of *Antrim* and the Pope's Nuncio, and Clergy's Party, and their Adherents, laboured industriously to withdraw them from their Obedience to his Majesty, and to give him Assistance to his Majesty, and so far prevailed, that when Things were in a Tendency towards sending ten thousand Men to his Majesty's Assistance the Lord of *Antrim* declared openly, in the Confederates great Assembly, that not a Man should go out of the Province of *Ulster*; and in the End, both these Peaces were, by that Disloyalty to his Majesty, and by the Countenance and Continuance of the said Marquis, render'd fruitless; and what great and general Evils followed thereupon to his Majesty, and all his Kingdoms, we need not now repeat, whence it was that in the Act of Settlement it is enacted. That such as at any Time adhered to the Nuncio's or Clergy's Party, or Papal Power, in Opposition to the King's Authority, shall not be restored as innocent Papists: And this being the Marquis of *Antrim's* Case, how far it may be fit for his Majesty (in the greatest Humility we mention it) to direct contrary to the said Act of Parliament, that the Commissioners upon these his Majesty's Letters, should proceed to find him innocent (for the Letter seems to imply) and that, as we humbly conceive, without giving any Latitude of Power to the Commissioners to examine Matter of Fact pursuant to the said Act of Parliament: We humbly submit to his Majesty's great Wisdom, and as we humbly conceive, it is not to be imagined that his late Majesty, a Prince of most eminent Honour and Prudence, would privately intrust the Marquis of *Antrim* to oppose the Conclusion of those Peaces, for the obtaining whereof his Majesty had given publick Authority to the

Lieutenant

Lieutenant, or that he ever gave any subsequent Approbation, which tended to his said Majesty's utter Ruin; and if it should be supposed that the Marquis his Compliance with the Nuncios and Clergy's Party, though most irreconcilable Enemies to the *English* Crown and Interest, might have been allowed of by his said Majesty, upon the Marquis's Undertaking, to employ the Credit he should thereby gain among them to dispose them at least to forbear that violent Opposition to all Overtures tending to the Reduction of the *Irish* Confederates to their Obedience, and to the Assistance of his late Majesty: It cannot be rationally supposed as we humbly conceive; but that the Reason and End of the Marquis's Compliance, would, either by his late Majesty for the better Management of the Affair, or by the Marquis himself for his Security and Exoneration, have been made known to me the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis having frequent Opportunity to do it: The Conclusion of this Point is that as the Marquis his constant Opposition to all the motions of Peace set on Foot, by Virtue of Authority derived from his late Majesty, had been made apparent to us by sufficient Proofs: So it is clearly manifested by his taking the Oath of Association, a Copy whereof is here inclosed, and that by the Administration of those who when they had, by his Assurances, prevailed in the Breach of the Peace, and of the Publick faith of the Confederates, assumed to themselves in the Year 1646, The Government of that Party under the Name of Supreme Council; as also by his becoming one of that Council, and signing several Letters and Instruments, whereof some were directed to me the Lieutenant, and all this without any Correspondence with me, or the least private Intimation, that his Purpose

pose in those his Proceedings, had any Authority from his Majesty, or any Respect to his Service: And as to the third, the two last mentioned Particulars do seem to us manifest that the Marquis's Case, as it stands stated in these Letters, is not the whole State of the Case, seeing those material Things are omitted therein, which we have before expressed, which indeed we should willingly have forborn, if our Silence could have consisted with the Duty which we owe to his Majesty, and to the Settlement of this Kingdom, and to that, which we humbly conceive, is expected from us by his Majesty; for there is now, and hath been for above a Month last past, under our Consideration here, the Draught of a new Act, to supply those Defects in the present Act of Settlement; which Experience hath manifested to become absolutely necessary to be remedied; in order to the general Settlement of this Kingdom; and it is most evident, that if the said Marquis shall be declared innocent, and that in so extraordinary a Way, as it would be contrary to the Act of Settlement, being the publick and fundamental Security of Mens Estates, so it would have this further Operation that the End of that intended Act, for gaining of Reprisals for the Estates of justly restorable Persons, such as his Majesty by his gracious Declaration, was pleased to acknowledge himself obliged to provide for, will become in an high Degree disappointed, and what general Mischiefs and Inconveniences may hereupon follow to the Settlement of the Kingdom in general is very apparent, When we had thus far proceeded in our Letter, a Petition of the Adventurers and Soldiers and their Assigns, concerning the Estate formerly belonging to the said Marquis, was exhibited at this Board; which being read

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before us, we find it to contain such matters concerning the Marquis of *Antrim*, as we humbly conceive are necessary upon this Occasion. to be made known to his Majesty; and therefore do esteem it our Duty to exhibit it to his Majesty's Review and royal Consideration; all which we humbly submit to his Majesty's excellent Judgment; and we desire you to move his Majesty for Signification of his good Pleasure herein, to us his Servants, as speedily as with Convenience may be, if his Majesty, in his Wisdom, shall so judge fit. And so we remain, from the Council Chamber at *Dublin*, July 31, 1663. your assured loving Friends, *Ormond Maurice Eustace*, Chancellor, *James Dublin*, *Ossory*, *Shannon*, *Dunganon*, *Henry Midenfis*, *Michael Cork*, *William Lawfield*, *Richard Coor*, *Henry Tichburn*, *Robert Foot*, *James Ware*, *George Wentworth*, *Robert Merideth*, *Throp. Jones*, *Thomas Clergifs*.

To the Right Honourable Sir *Henry Bennet*, Knight, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State.

But what Effect this Letter had, and what the Marquis of *Antrim*'s true Case was, appears by the following Letter, which fully states the same.

*Dublin*, August 22, 1663.

Ever Honoured Sir,

**L**AST Thursday we came to Trial with my Lord Marquis of *Antrim*; but according to my Fears (which you always surmised to be in vain) he was, by the King's extraordinary and peremptory Letter of Favour, restored to his Estate, as an innocent Papist. We proved eight Qualifications in the Act of Settlement against him, the last of which made him incapable of being restored as innocent. We proved 1. That he was to have a hand in surprizing the Castle of *Dublin*, in the Year 1641. 2, That he was of the



the Rebels Party before the 15th of September 1643, which we made appear by his hourly and frequent Intercourse with Renny O Moor, and many others; being himself the most notorious of the said Rebels. 3. That he entered into the Roman Catholicks Confederacy before the Peace in 1643. 4. That he constantly adhered to the Nuncio's Party, in Opposition to his Majesty's Authority. 5. That he sat from Time to Time in the supreme Council of *Kilkenny*. 6. That he signed that execrable Oath of Association. 7. That he was Commissionated and acted as Lieutenant General from the said Assembly at *Kilkenny*. 8. That he declared, by several Letters of his own penning, himself in Conjunction with *Owen Ro O Neal*, and a constant Opposer to the several Peaces made by the Lord Lieutenant with the *Irish*. We were seven Hours by the Clock in proving our Evidence against him; but at last the King's Letter being opened, and read in Court, *Ramsford* one of the Commissioners, said to us, That the King's Letter on his Behalf was Evidence without Exception, and thereupon declared him to be an innocent Papist, This Cause, Sir, hath (tho' many Reflections have passed upon the Commissioners before) more startled the Judgments of all Men, than all the Trials since the Beginning of their sittings; and it is very strange and wonderful to all the long Robe, that the King should give such a Letter, having divested himself of that Authority, and reposed the Trust in Commissioners for that Purpose: And it is likewise admired, that the Commissioners having taken solemn Oaths, to execute nothing but according to, and in pursuance of the Act of Settlement, should barely upon his Majesty's Letter, declare the Marquis innocent. To be short, there never was so great a Rebel

that had so much Favour from so good a King; and it is very evident, that the Consequence of these Things will be very bad; and if God of his extraordinary Mercy do not prevent it, War, and (if possible) greater Judgments, cannot be far from us, where Vice is patronis'd; and *Antrim*, a Rebel upon Record, and so lately and clearly proved one, should have no other Colour for his Actions but the King's own Letter, which takes off all Imputations from *Antrim*, and lays them totally upon his own Father. Sir, I shall by the next, if possible, send you over one of our Briefs against my Lord by some Friend; it's too large for a Pacquet, it being no less in Bulk than a Book of Martyrs.

Well might the *Irish* decline their Tryals by indifferent Juries, and appeal to the Court of Claims, which the Lord Chief Justice *Santry* declared, was like the Usurper's High Court of Justice, arbitrary and unlimited; and the *English* complained, that the Natives, by this illegal Court, were made innocent, though they were known to be deeply concerned in the Rebellion; for that it was beyond all peradventure, that not one in ten of the *Irish* Papists were free from Rebellion and Murther and most of them stood indicted and outlawed for Treason, and therefore despaired upon their Trial at the Bar, to make any considerable Defence: Upon this a new Act was prepared to explain the former, but *Talbot* (after *Tyrconnel*) being made a principal Agent for the *Irish* and they insinuating themselves in the Favour of *Raniford* afterwards made a Judge in England for his good Services in Ireland) and the Commissioners of the Court of Claims, it fell out, that though it was believed, upon the Kings Restoration, there could not have been

been the twentieth Part of *Ireland* gained from the *English*; yet by recommendatory Letters, and other Stratagems of the Court in *England*, there was almost an half of the Kingdom in Value lost, and at the same Time, the most innocent *Irish* lost their Estates, and the greatest Rebels got twice more than they had before the Rebellion began; to such a Height was Popery already grown; which so far encouraged the *Irish*, that they often told the *English*, that in a short Time the Protestants must be all of their Religion.

In 1669 the Lord Roberts was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, but soon recalled, and John Lord Berkeley was sent in his Room. In 1670 the Papists set up a Pretence, that the King, when in Exile, had engaged to the *French* King, to restore the *Irish* to their Religion and Estates; which not being done, might occasion a Breach with that Crown; Whereupon Commissions were sent to *Irish* Papists, to make them Justices of Peace, in which Office they soon discovered themselves to be so partial and insolent that their Proceedings were abhorred, not only by the Protestants, but the most thinking *Irish*: After this there was a Design for regulating the Corporations of *Ireland*, and the Popish Party began with *Dublin*, where without any legal Proceeding or Pretence, seven of the Aldermen, and Sir William Davis the Recorder, who were opposite to the Romish Party, were turned out in a tumultuous irregular Manner, and seven of the Rabble put in their Places; and Sir Ellis Leaton, the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary, was made Recorder; and Papists were daily brought into the Common Council, to the great Terror of the Citizens, who plainly perceived, that

the Design was aparantly levell'd at the Foundation of the Protestant Interest and Religion, and for introducing Popery and arbitrary Power; in which Opinion they were confirmed, by some Passages that happened about the same Time, particularly, that *Talbot*, the Popish Archbishop of *Dublin*, in 1672, desiring of the Lord Lieutenant to borrow the Hangings of the Castle, Silver Candlestick, and other Plate to the Use of high Mass; they were sent by Sir *Ellis Lanyon*, with this Compliment, That he hoped to have High Mass by *Christmas* at *Christ church*. To the effect which soon after an horrid Plot was discovered, whereby all the Protestants were to have been barbarously murdered; and the Signal appointed to distinguish the *Irish* from the Hereticks, was a Cross of Straw, which the Priests earnestly enjoyned every one to fix over their Doors, telling them the Omission thereof might be their Ruin; for where the Cross was not found they would be destroyed as Hereticks: but this horrid Conspiracy being happily discovered, upon Search, small Crosses of Straw, not easily to be perceived, were found on the Houses of most of the *Irish* in the Province of *Munster*; but the Government of *Ireland* was at that Time so popishly inclined, that they would not encourage the further Discovery thereof; and they that appeared earnest in laying it open, had their Cattle stole, and were threatned to have their Houses burnt; so that the whole Villany was hush'd up in Silence.

In 1673 the Earl of *Essex* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; the Proceedings in the former Year being thought, by Courts of *England* too bare-faced, this worthy and prudent Governor managed Affairs with so much skill and integrity, that the Papists could hope for no Advantage whilst



he held the Sword; therefore one *Sheridan* and *Edward Coleman* were thought fit Instruments to embarrass Affairs, and manage the *Catolick* Interest; but by the unparallel'd Conduct of this prudent Earl, he so far out-vy'd the *Romish* Politicks, as to cajole that Party into an Approbation of those Proceedings, which proved fatally destructive to their Designs, of which at length the Duke of *York* was so sensible, that he became his inveterate Enemy, and set up private Designs against him, and at length prevailed to have him recalled; and in 1677 the Duke of *Ormond* was again sent Lord Lieutenant thither.

This Year the Papists set up another Project, which was, that the *French* should make some new Demands for the *Irish*, upon pretence of the Articles made by King *Charles II.* in their Favour, and the King of *England* was to admit the *French* to land Men: The Earl of *Tyrone*, the Lord *Brittas*, and others, were also to raise Men in *Ireland*, in order to make a Diversion, to the putting the Popish Plot in Force in *England*; and an Insurrection was designed at the same Time in *Ireland*; the King was unacquainted with the chief Part of the Contrivance: the Duke of *York* having undertaken to pacify him, if he should hear of the *Irish* Intrigue; but this was divulged by some of the *Irish*, and the King was hardly prevailed with not to believe it; at length the King and Council, fearing some Danger from *Ireland*, the Duke of *Ormond* was sent thither, and the Duke of *York* did not think it seasonable to oppose it; but yet prevailed so powerfully with the King, that he sent Orders for raising Men in *Ireland* upon Pretence of foreign Service; they were all Papists, except some Officers who were ready to be so; but the Lord Lieutenant would not deliver them Arms, so they were exercised with Sticks.

The next Year, 1678. the Popish Plot was discovered in *England*. and soon after that in *Ireland*, which was detected by those of their own Party and Religion, not one Protestant appearing as Evidence against them: Upon which Orders came from *England*, for disarming all Papists; but their Friends at Court had given them timely Notice to conceal them, so that not above 150 Arms were found among all the Papists in *Ireland* they hiding them in Bogs and other secret Places, without any Damage: The Lord *Brittas* and others escaped into *France*; the Earl of *Tyrone* was committed to the Gate-house; *Talbot* (since *Tyrconnel*) with his Brother, the Popish Archbishop, were imprisoned in *Dublin* Castle, where the last died; the Duke of *Tork* was sent to *Flanders*, and all Things appear'd so discouraging, that an *Irish* Lord swore a great Oath, that he believed *Jesus Christ* was a Protestant, for that nothing they could do did prosper.

The Parliament of *England* were very busy in searching into the Bottom of the Popish Conspiracy, and found many great Persons concerned therein; several Papists were executed for the same; but still the Court endeavour'd by all manner of Arts to obstruct any further Discoveries, the Duke of *Tork's* Interest still prevailing who was come from *Flanders*; but upon the sitting of the Parliament, was obliged to go to *Scotland*, from whence he sent private Encouragements to the *Irish* Papists, not to despair of relieving all again; but the *English* there were very secure, as judging themselves happy under the peaceable Government of the Duke of *Ormond*, and their Interest in *Ireland* seemed more firm than ever; because they were of Opinion that this late Conspiracy of the *Irish* would prevent the King's shewing them any Kindness for the

the future; the Lord Lieutenant likewise procured a Grant for calling a Parliament there, the News whereof so alarmed the Duke of York, that he came with all Speed from Scotland to prevent it, which he likewise effected, and the Irish afterwards boldly affirmed, *That there would be no Parliament till the Duke came to the Crown*; which they seemed to believe, would be very shortly; and accordingly the Death of King Charles the 2d. happen'd in February 1684 following, which still remains a Mystery, though the Papists in Ireland for some Time before, could fix upon the utmost Period of his Life: And now the long look'd-for Day was come, which so transported them after all the Dangers and Difficulties they had met with, that they could hardly contain their Joy within any Bounds.

So soon as King Charles II. was dead, the Duke of Ormond was removed from the Government of Ireland; and upon his Arrival in England found King James inclined to such violent Courses, as it is thought broke his Heart, he dying soon after: Before his going, he called the Officers of his Army together, and taking a Glass of Wine in his Hand, "Look here Gentlemen (says he) they say, at Court, I am now become an old dotting Fool, you see my Hand doth not shake, nor does my Heart fail, nor doubt I, but I shall make some of them see their Mistake."

The Lord Primate and the Lord Granard were now made Lords Justices of Ireland; but the daily reported Insolences of their Irish Nobility and Gentry, as well as the Commonalty, soon made them weary of their Government; for they repaired in great Numbers to Dublin, and in all Places reproached and abused the English, with the most impious Calumnies and Reflections, and those that refused to drink Confusion to

all Protestants and their Religion, were seized with Warrants, and threatned to be murder'd; the Defeat of the Duke of *Monmouth*, in 1685, heightened their Rage more, and made them contrive hellish Plots against the Lives and Estates of the Protestants, under the Pretence that they designed to massacre the *Irish*, though they themselves knew too well, that such an horrid Attempt was as impossible as ridiculous if any should have been so villainous to have contriv'd it, since in the most Parts of the Kingdom the *Irish* were vastly more numerous than the *English*, nay in some Counties an 100 Families for one.

After this *Tyrconnel* began to model the Army and disarm the Protestants, upon Pretence that *Monmouth's* Rebellion had infected many, and might delude more in that Kingdom; and the *Irish* declared, that if any Arms were found in the Protestants Hands, they would be judged Persons disaffected to the King and his Government; which so affrighted many that they brought in their own Arms, and delivered them up to the Papists: after which *Tyrconnel* went to *England* accompanied with one *Neagle* a cunning *Irish* Lawyer, who published an Account of the Injustice of the Act of Settlement, reflecting with all manner of Invectives against King *Charles II.* But matters being not ripe enough in *England*, King *James* did not think it convenient to propose *Tyrconnel* for Lord Lieutenant at present; and therefore it was contriv'd by the Popish Cabal, that the Earl of *Clarendon* should go over Lord Lieutenant, and *Tyrconnel* Lieut. Gen. of the Army.

When the Earl arrived there, the *English* were much discouraged, because of his Relation to the King; but their Hopes were extreemly revived, when they found him acting with invi-



olable Integrity to the Protestants: The *Irish*  
 Grandees were very little concerned at it, pro-  
 ceeding still with all Violence in ruining the  
 Protestants Interest and animating their Vassals  
 with Hopes that he would soon be removed,  
 the *Irish* composing barbarous Songs in Praise of  
*Tyrconnel*; and that his heroick Hand should de-  
 stroy the *English* Church: they declared publick-  
 ly, " That they liked no Government but that  
 " of *France*, and that they would make King  
 " *James* as absolute as King *Lewis*; that they  
 " would shortly have the *English* Churches and  
 " Houses, and if they suffered them to live,  
 " would make them *Hewers of Wood and Drawers of*  
 " *Water*: that *Ireland* must be a *Catholick* Coun-  
 " try, and that they would make the *English* as  
 " poor Devils as when they came first thither;"  
 And of this they were so confident, that the  
 most serious amongst them, privately advised  
 their Protestant Friends to change their Reli-  
 gion; " For, said they, you will be forced to  
 " do it in a while, and if you delay a little  
 " Time, it may be too late; and perhaps you  
 " may not be accepted; for no Protestant must  
 expect to enjoy any Thing in this Kingdom,  
 " and we resolve to reduce all Things to the  
 " State they were in before *Poining's* Act in *Hen-*  
 " *ry VII's* Time." Yea, King *James* himself,  
 and his followers, us'd to say, " That the *Irish*  
 " must be restored to their former Power, Es-  
 " tates and Religion in that Kingdom;" and  
 when the *English* objected, that their Proceedings  
 were arbitrary, and against Laws, they call'd  
 them Traytors, crying, " Damn your Law it is  
 " the King's Pleasure it should be so, and you  
 " are all a Company of Rebels, because you are  
 " not of the Kings Religion, and will not own  
 " his Will and Pleasure to be above all Laws."

But

But the *English* Roman Catholicks were not so confident of their Game, so that at a general Meeting of the chief of them at the *Savoy*, before Father *Peters*, they seemed very doubtful of the King's Capacity, or Willingness to expose himself to the Hazard of securing the Catholick Religion in his Reign, considering his Age, and the almost insurmountable Difficulties they were to encounter with to effect it; and therefore moved the King, that their Estates might be secured by an Act of Parliament, with Liberty of exercising their Religion only privately; but *Peters* opposed this, as a Consideration too worldly; adding, that if they would pursue his measures, he doubted not to see the holy Church triumphant in *England*: Other Papists desired the King, they might have Liberty to sell their Estates, and retire into *France*, and by his Intercession, might be provided for in that King's Dominions: To which he replied, "That before their Desires came to him, he had often thought of them, and had, as he believed, provided a sure Sanctuary for them in *Ireland*, if all those Endeavours should be blasted in *England*, which he had made for their Security; and of whose Success he had not Reason to despair;" adding many zealous Expressions of his extream Kindness for the Catholick Church; "As that he resolved rather to die a Martyr, than not to settle the Roman Religion, and that he would chuse to die the next Day, that Design being compassed, rather than live 50 Years without effecting it; having already been almost a Martyr for the Catholick Cause, which had been the Occasion of all his Troubles.

In pursuance of these Resolutions, the King gave himself wholly up to the Conduct and Counsels of the furious Jesuits, being entered into

their Society, and was become a Lay Brother of that Order, and consequently judged it meritorious to extirpate and destroy Heresy, especially being told, "That it would be a most glorious Action, and that no doubt he would be canonized for a Saint, if he could reduce three Kingdoms to their ancient Obedience to the holy See, from which they had been so long Apostates; and had nursed up so many damned Hereticks, to the Disturbance of the holy Church."

But the present Lord Lieutenant being an Obstacle to the vigorous Progress of Popery in *Ireland*, the Jesuits resolved to remove him, of which Design a Person of Honour acquainted the King, who absolutely denied there was any such Intention, or that he had any Thoughts of it, nor did he believe he ever should (whilst both lived) remove him from that Government, tho' the Papists in *Ireland* confidently affirmed, that he had before given his Word to Father *Peters*, that *Tyrconnel* should be Lord Deputy; and accordingly, in 1686 he obtained that Government against all Opposition, the News of which so surprised the Protestants in *Ireland*, that almost all that were able deserted the Kingdom, and flock'd in great Numbers to the *Isle of Man*, *Scotland*, and other Places, so great was their Terror and Consternation at these dreadful Tidings, and the dismal Effects which they expected from his Management of Affairs; at length *Tyrconnel* arrived there, after having been kept a considerable Time at the Sea-side by contrary Winds, which seemed a signal Act of Providence, to give Warning and Opportunity to the People, to fly from the Judgments just ready to fall upon that distressed Kingdom: The Lord *Clarendon* surrender'd the Sword to him, with an admirable Speech concluding,

concluding, that as he had kept an equal Hand of Justice to the Roman Catholicks, so he hop'd his Lordship would do to the Protestants. But Popery was the Scene which must be acted, and the Protestants trembled at the terrible Consequences thereof, whilst the *Irish* triumph'd and insulted over their Dejection, reproaching them both as *Englishmen* and Protestants, and usually calling them fanatick Dogs, and damned Hericks: Yea, so barbarous were their Affronts and Indignities, that the *English* were daily afraid of a general Massacre, to be inhumanly put in Execution against them.

*Tyrconnet* now places Popish Judges and Officers in all the Courts of Judicature, and then proceeds against the Charters of all the Cities and Corporations of the Kingdom; he endeavour'd to persuade the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of *Dublin*, to surrender theirs to the King; but meeting with much Opposition therein, he in a Rage told them, "That this was the Continuance of their former Rebellion, having turned out all the loyal Subjects in the last War in *Ireland*. and would do so now, if it were in their Power." Whereupon they produced a Letter from King *Charles I* dated at *Oxford* containing great Acknowledgments of their signal Loyalty and Faithfulness to him, with high Assurances of being eminently rewarded, if he were again restored to the Crown: But this availed nothing; for the common Saving of the *Irish* was, "That King *Jam* would regard no Man for any Service formerly done to him, his Father or Brother, but only for future Service that he expected from them." So that though the Citizens of *Dub* sent a Gentleman on purpose to the King with a Petition, and Representation of their Ca-



yet he would not regard him; but upon first Sight ask'd him, if he had the Lord Deputy's Leave to come with this Petition; and that he had those in *Ireland* that understood the Law better than himself, and so turned from him; and he was forced to go back again *re infecta*: Yet the City of *Dublin* was resolved not to betray their Liberties, but employed the Council to defend their Charters; but these Judges, who had already broken through all Inclosures of Law and trampled upon the known Constitutions of the Kingdom, that were opposite to their Popish and arbitrary Designs, overruled all their Pleadings, and gave Judgment against them, to the universal excessive Joy of the *Irish* and great Mortification of the Protestants; consonant to the Sentence against *Dublin* was Judgment given against all the Charters of the Kingdom, except those who quietly surrendered them.

The new Lord Deputy now chose him a Privy-Council, that all but three had scarce common Sense, of which two of them would often complain saying, "That nothing could pass at the Council board, of publick Concern, but their Countrymen, must first ask *Teige*. if that would not spoil his Potato Garden?" But however, they all agreed to enslave and beggar their Country, especially in Matter of Trade; as appeared by *Tyrconnel's* first Proclamation, with the Advice of his Council, to break an Act of Parliament, in taking off the Duty of Iron, and this without asking the King's leave; but as soon as it was heard of in *England*, a Proclamation came from thence forbidding this wise Act, made by these notable Statesmen; but the Lord *Bellasis* swore in Council, "That Fool in *Ireland* was Fool and Mad-man enough to ruin  
ten

"ten Kingdoms." And Father *Peters* secretly reprimanded him for his political Blunder; and writ to him, if he acted not with greater Caution: the King could not possibly preserve him in that Government. This with the vast Numbers of People that deserted the Kingdom upon *Tyrconnel's* coming Lord Deputy thither, whereby the Towns and Cities were made almost desolate, and Traffick so ruined that the publick Revenue was sunk incredibly from the former Value were so strongly pressed against him at the *English* Privy-Council to his Disdvantage, that he obtained the Favour of King *James* to meet and confer with him at *Chester*, carrying along with him Judge *Rice* for his Counsellor, and a subtle Fellow, who told the King so many fine Stories, there being none to contradict him, that he was dismiss'd, contrary to the Hopes and expectations of many, who thought he would never have return'd again Lord Deputy. When he took Leave of several Privy-Counsellors and Officers, at his going to wait on King *James* at *Chester*, August 1687, he said, *I have put the Sword in your Hands; and then in his usual Stile, prayed God to damn them all if ever they parted with it again.*

During *Tyrconnel's* Stay here the new Judges went their Circuits wherein they discovered the most gross Partiality imaginable; for though they found the Goals full of *Tories* and *Irish* Robbers, committed for several notorious Crimes, yet with the Assistance of *Irish* Sheriffs and Juries, they were most of them discharged without Punishment, either being indicted by wrong Names, or else by taking off the Prosecutors with Threats that if they proceeded their Cattle would be stolen, their Houses burn'd, or their Throats cut, which often happened: And this was done in pursuance of one of the Lord Deputy's Instructions from Court to them, that they

they should by all possible Means weaken the Protestant Interest which they so effectually performed that no *Englishman* was secure of any Thing he had, by their exorbitant Proceedings against them: So that had these barbarous Injustices, and publick Oppressions and Violences in the several Law Courts (even such as never were till then heard of among Christians) continued but a few Years longer. these, without other Means, might have wholly reduced the Kingdom into *Irish* Hands; it being observed, that never one Cause came before them upon a Tryal for Land, but the Judgment was constantly given in Favour of the *Irish*.

As to the Army in *Ireland* of which I have mentioned something before, I shall add, that when King *James* came to the Crown, they consisted in about 7000 Men, as cordial to his Interest as possible, both Officers and Soldiers respecting him as their Master and Father; and shewing a great Forwardness to have assisted him against *Monmouth* and *Argyle*: Yet he was no sooner settled in the Throne, but he began to turn the most zealous of them out of his Service; because he could not expect they would be useful to him in destroying the Protestant Religion, and Liberties of the Subjects, which was the Service he expected from them; and therefore took their Troops away, and gave them to Persons of mean or broken Fortunes and some of them unqualified by Law, and no Consideration was had to Loyalty or Merit, unless a Man were a Papist, of which there were too many notorious Instances: And the Manner of their being discarded, was with so much Falshood and Barbarity from *Tyrconnel*, as might have shaken the Obedience of any Army but this in the World; and caused them to have dispatched so false a  
Wretch;

Wretch! for in the Morning he would take an Officer into his Closet, and with his usual Oaths Curses and Damnrations, would profess the greatest Kindness and Friendship, assuring them of the Continuance of their Commissions, and in the Afternoon would Cashier them, with all manner of Scorn and Contempt; nay while he was caressing them he had actually given away their Commands. As for the Soldiers and Troops, he marched them to Places so far distant from their Quarters that they were not much known; and there after great Hardships stripp'd the Foot of their Cloaths, which they had paid for, and the Troopers of their Horses Boots, and Furniture, bought with their own Money, and turned them off to walk barefoot, some 100, others 150 Miles, to their Houses and Homes; and though they were promised something for their Horses, yet their Attendance cost them twice as much as they expected, and most of them, after all, got nothing. By this Means two or three hundred Protestant Gentlemen, who had laid out great Part of their Fortunes, and contracted Debts to obtain Commissions were not left worth any Thing, but were turned out without Reason, or any Consideration. and five or six thousand Soldiers sent a begging; an Hardship, perhaps never put upon an Army before; for no other Reason but because they were *Englishmen* and Protestants; and and *Irishmen* and Papists were by King James put in their Places, clearly demonstrating, that he had no Regard to the Laws or the Preservation of that Kingdom; and that he absolutely designed to ruin the Protestants, and advance the Popish Interest in Ireland. And the same Fate attended all the Protestant civil Officers, several of them being routed, though they had Places

by



by Patent for Life, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Officers of the Revenue, &c. who were all changed for Roman Catholics; and this before the News of the glorious Expedition of his late Majesty, the Prince of *Orange*, and without any Provocation, or the least Pretence of Disloyalty.

*December 9, 1687*, being *Sunday* in the Morning, happened such an Inundation of Water at *Dublin* as was never known before, carrying away Stone Bridges, overflowing Houses for three Days together, so that a great Part of the City was much endamaged thereby, to their great Detriment and Loss; and was the more remarkable, because no great Rain, only a few small Showers had fallen the Night before, seem'd to presage the Deluge of Troubles that were impending over the poor *English* in that distressed Kingdom.

The Earl of *Castlemain* being returned to *England*, from his Embassy to the Pope, and having received no Preferment, complained to the Pope, who writ to his Nuncio to address the King in his Behalf; and being seconded by Father *Peters*, it was resolved in the Cabinet Council, *December 23*, that *Jefferies*, the Lord Chancellor, for tampering in the Business of *Magdalen College*, should be put out, and three of the Lords of the Treasury, be made Lords Commissioners of the great Seal, and that *Castlemain* should be Lord Treasurer, *Peters* roundly telling the King, "That the most effectual Means of accomplishing his Design, of establishing the Catholick Religion, was to let his Prime Ministers and the World understand, that no Service they had or could do, should protect them, or be reckoned of any Account, if they hoggled in the least Tittle or Circumstance relating to the Catholick Cause;

But

But still the furious Jesuits and their Accomplishes were very much dissatisfied, that notwithstanding they had a Catholick King upon the Throne, yet the Popish Religion made but small Progress, and there was but a mean Harvest of Converts to the Roman Faith; nay, not in *Ireland*, where all the Power, both Civil and Military, was in their Hands: Hereupon a Project is contrived to destroy the Act of Settlement there, in hopes the Protestants would rebel, and forfeit their Estates, whereby they should have an Opportunity totally to extirpate them out of that Kingdom, and so be in a Capacity in a short Time, to subdue *England* and *Scotland* likewise: In order hereto the Lord Chief Justice *Nugent* Lord Chief Baron *Rice*, and *Neagle*, drew up the Form of an Act, which in the Nature of it gave the whole Lands of *Ireland* into the Hands of the King; and though the Catholicks were to have but half their Estates, yet the other Part was under such Qualifications, as the King might dispose of them to those who were most obedient and useful to him: This was brought over by these three, who were called the *Irish* Ambassadors, and at length approved of by Father *Peters*, and presented to the King, with strong Assurances, that if he would but call a Parliament there, they could have whom they pleased elected, all Corporations being already put into Popish Hands, and all the Sheriffs of Counties, Papists, who would be sure to make Returns as they thought fit.

King *James* who was become a Vassal to the *French* King durst not refuse their Proposals, for fear of disobliging him, and having (as he constantly did) debated it in the Cabinet Council, it was resolved to be brought into the Privy-Council. which the King did accordingly; and  
being

being read, the Lord *Bellasis* passionately inveighed against it, saying, "That if such Designs as these" were encouraged, the Catholics of *England* "had best in Time look out for another Country, and not stay to be made a Sacrifice to" *Irish* Rebels; others seconded it, and none durst offer any thing in Behalf of it; afterwards the three *Irish* Ambassadors had Audience at the Council, where *Rice* spoke in the Behalf of the rest; but the Lords *Bellasis* and *Pours* called him Fool and Knave, even in the King's Presence, *Bellasis* bidding them make haste to the Fool their Master, and bid him, next Message he sent, to employ wiser Men, and upon a more honest Errand; and every one fell so violently upon them, that they kissed the King's Hand and departed; he himself not speaking a Word, but instantly breaking up their Council: And the Noise of their Business being known abroad, the Boys in the Streets ran after the Coach, where *Rice* and *Nagant* at any Time were, with Potatoes stuck in Sticks, crying out, *Make Way for the Irish Ambassadors*.

In 1688 the joyful News of the Birth of the the supposed Prince of *Wales* arrived there about the same Time with that of the imprisoning the Bishops in the Tower, which filled them with such Exultations, that they could hardly bear it, glorying, "They had now a Prince who would" become a Patron to the Holy Church, and perpetuate the Catholick Religion to all Posterity, by the utter Extirpation of Heresy." It is remarkable, that as soon as ever it was publicly declared the Queen was with Child, the *Irish* throughout the Nation were so confident that it would be a Son, that they offered to lay 20 Guineas to one of it; which the *English* were very sensible they would never have ventured,

had

had they not been acquainted with the Mystery of it. And now they express their rejoycing with Bonfires, Bag-pipes, Drinking and Reveling for several Nights together, forcing the *English* to come out of their Beds, and to drink to the King and Prince's good Health. with Confusion to their Enemies, upon their Knees, which they well understood were the Protestants; and such as would not comply were called fanatick *Oliverian* Dogs, and they hardly refrained from murdering them; and the Officers of *Christ-Church* were committed to the Stocks, because *Tyrconnel* fancied that the Bells did not ring merrily enough on that Occasion.

But the Scripture says, *The Joy of the Wicked is short*, and so theirs proved; for a while after a Ship came from *Amsterdam* to *Dublin*, with Letters from a Friend of *Tyrconnel's*, to acquaint him, that he did imagine the Prince of *Orange* had a Design against *England*, since none in *Holland* could guess what else the great and hasty Preparations made there could mean; *Tyrconnel* sent this Letter to the Secretary of State, who shewed it to the King; but they made no other Use of it than to scorn and ridicule his Intelligence, as the Secretary did in a Letter sent back to him: But fresh Suspicions daily arose, and the Matter seemed still more probable; whereupon the huffing *Irish* called the *English* Rebels, saying, they were sure they would join with the Prince, and as certain that they would be beaten, and served the same Sauce that *Monmouth* was; and bloodily and maliciously expressed themselves against the Prince, whose Head they threatened to stick upon a Pole, and carry it round the Kingdom; and after King *James's* Proclamation came to them, Lord Chief Justice *Nugent*, that confident, ignorant *Irishman*, in his Charge to the Jury, among other



other vilifying Reproaches upon the Prince of *Orange* audaciously and impudently added, "That now the States of *Holland* were weary of their Prince, they had sent him over to be dressed as *Monmouth* was; but that was too good for him;" and that he doubted not, before a Month passed, to hear that they were hung up all over *England* in Branches, like Ropes of *O*. nions.

At this Time of his present Majesty's Descent into *England*, the Popish Army in *Ireland* were about 8000, whereof near half were sent into *England* to assist King *James*. and the other were dispersed up and down the Kingdom, being but an Handful in Comparison of the Protestants, who had Arms enough in *Dublin* alone to have mastered them; and as it was proposed by some (when they heard the King had sent Commissioners to treat with his Highness the Prince of *Orange*) to seize the Castle of *Dublin*, with the Stores and Ammunition, which had been very feasible, by securing *Tyrconnel*, who had only 600 Men to guard him; and they, by the continual Expresses from *England*, of the wonderful Progress of the Prince's Forces, were so generally discouraged, that they declared themselves desirous to lay down their Arms, proposing to themselves only to remain in the same Condition they were in King *Charles II's* Time; and *Tyrconnel* himself commanded the Protestants to signify the same to their Friends in *England*, that he was willing to part with the Sword upon those Terms, with King *James's* Leave; for though he received the first News of the Prince's landing with the greatest Disdain and Contempt, boasting, that he was able to raise an Army of an hundred thousand Men on a Month's Notice, and gave Commissions to every one that would accept of them, yet the  
additional

additional Accounts of his Highness's daily Success raised such a Consternation in him, that by all his Actions it did sufficiently appear, he had no Thoughts of standing out, and all his Discourses expressed his disordered and ill Apprehension of the present Tendency of Affairs; which was much encreased, by the dreadful Alarm that the Protestants had, from a Letter sent to the Earl of Mount Alexander, giving him an Account of an horrible Massacre designed upon the Protestants on *December 9*, being *Sunday*; the Letter came to *Dublin* the *Friday* before, and the News thereof so terrified the Protestants, that the next Day above 3000 got away into the Ships that were in the Harbour at that Time, which were so crammed, that they were ready to be stifled, deserting their Houses, and all that ever they had in the World, and running to the Ships with scarce Cloaths on their Backs, some went to the *Isle of Man*, some to *England*, or the North of *Ireland*; such strange Confusions and Distractions did the Dread of the barbarous and cruel Usage, which they feared from the *Irish* produce, many of them having been Eye-witnesses of the horrid Murders and Ravages committed by them in 1641.

*Tyrconnel* having Notice of this sudden Hurry, on *Sunday* Morning sent two Protestant Lords to persuade the People not to go away, and ordered a Yatch to fetch back them that were gone, but both proved ineffectual; he then sent to some of the principal Protestants in *Dublin*, assuring them with many Oaths and Protestations, that he had an utter Abhorrence of any such Design as massacring the Protestants, and begged them to persuade their Friends not to remove: The dreadful Tidings arrived at other Places in *Ireland* that very *Sunday* Morning, while the People were

were at Church, and struck them with such Horror and Amazement, for fear of present Destruction, that many for Haste got out of the Windows, others were ready to be squeezed to Death at the Doors; many left their Hats and Perriwigs behind them; yea, the Cloaths on their Backs were torn to Pieces in the Crowd: others were trampled under Foot, and the Women in worse Condition than the Men: Nay, for several *Sundays* after the Protestants carried Arms with them to Church, the Minister himself being armed while preaching: Whether the Design was real or no, or whether this Discovery prevented it, is not known, but certainly the Dread of it produced the greatest Horror, Grief and Despair that humane Nature could be capable of.

In this Consternation Things continued till *January*, when Advice coming of King *James's* flying to *France*, the *Irish* Lords moved *Tyrconnell* to deliver up the Sword, which many thought he would have been easily persuaded to, since at the Beginning of the Alarm it was believed, that he would be the first Man in the Government who would endeavour his Escaping, having already packed up most of his Goods of Value, and shipped most of his Treasure: His whole Council were of the Opinion that he should surrender; and he finding himself so very weak, and so much in the Power of the Protestants, protested to them, with the deepest Oaths and Curles, according to his usual Acts of Dissimulation, Falshood and Flattery, "That he would  
 " be rid of the Government very willingly, so  
 " as it might be with Honour; that it was easy  
 " for him to ruin and destroy the Kingdom,  
 " and make it not worth a Groat, but impossible to preserve it for his Master." At another

Time

Time he told them, that he could not deliver the Sword with Honour till it was demanded, and asked them whether they would have him throw it over the Castle-Wall? for there was none to take it. Some imagined that he intended in earnest to have parted with it, especially if it had been demanded before King *James* went into *France*; having likewise before procured Letters to be sent to *England*, to excuse the Male-Administrations in the Government; "and that it was the Opinion of all the Catholicks, that the Kingdom would be ruined and themselves also, if they yielded not to the Prince of *Orange*; that they would be contented to be reduced to the same State they were in when King *James* came to the Crown, &c.

But after all, the Generality of the Protestants were of Opinion, that he meant nothing less, only designing to gain Time, and delude them, till he had got a kind of an Army together to master them; and they were confirmed therein by his secret giving out 500 Commissions, of one Sort and another, in a Day: The *Irish* likewise assembled in great Bodies, and were called *Rapparees*, armed with Skeins and Half-pikes, killing the Cattle of the *English*, and stealing an hundred or two in a Night, so that many substantial Protestants, who owned several hundreds of black Cattle and Sheep, &c. had not one left; and for 40 Miles together in the Province of *Munster*, the *Irish* Cabbins were full of Beef, stolen from the *English*, which they did not so much as bestow Salt upon, but hung it up in the Smoak, so that it looked and stank as bad as Carrion. It was affirmed, that in nine Days the *Irish* stole eleven thousand Cattle in that one Province; and at length, to complete the Miseries of the Protestants, they robbed and pillaged their Houses,



Houses, so that those who had lived in great Hospitality and Plenty, now wanted Bread to eat, and had nothing left to preserve them from starving.

All this while the new Levies were mustering every Day, the Priests putting off their Wolves Cloathing, and with their Swords and Perriwigs turn'd Commanders, and exercis'd the *Irish* Soldiers: All the Scum and Rascality of the Country were made Officers, every where Papists enlisted themselves, and the Priests suffer'd no Man to come to Mass, that did not arm himself with a Skein and Half-pike; the better Sort of their Captains and inferior Officers had been Footmen or Servants to Protestants, most of them Sons or Descendants of the Rebels in 1641, who had murdered so many Protestants; many were outlawed, and condemned Persons for Torying and Robbing; no less than 14 notorious Tories were Officers in *Cormuck O Neal's* Regiment; and these new Commission'd Officers were oblig'd, without Pay, to subsist their Men (as they call'd it) being between 40 and 50000 for three Months, a Thing impossible for them to do, since most of them were not able to maintain themselves; which gave mortal Apprehensions to the Protestants, who had Reason to fear the Destruction that immediately fell on them, when they saw their Enemies in Arms, and their own Lives and Goods in the Power, and at the Mercy of those Thieves, Robbers and Tories, now arm'd and authoris'd, from whom they could scarce secure themselves, when it was in their Power to pursue and hang them; and this was acknowledged by one of their own Justices, who in his Charge at the Quarter sessions declar'd, " That among other Conveniences which they receiv'd from this Government, one was, That it had rid  
" them

“ them of Tories, for these were taken into the  
“ King’s Army.”

*Tyrconnell* and his Council were still in Amaze and Confusion, and all unanimous to submit except *Nugent* and *Rice*; but on a sudden they came to a Conclusion, that might quiet the *Irish* Lords, who were for Submission to the Prince and Government of *England*; and the Project was, That the Lord *Monjoy*, a Protestant, and the Lord Chief Baron *Rice*, should be sent over to the late King *James* in *France*, to represent to him the Impossibility of their holding out against *England*; and the Necessity to yield to the Time, and make the best Terms they could till a better Opportunity presented to serve himself of his *Irish* Subjects, This was a Jesuitical Stratagem, contrived by *Rice* and *Neagle*, as one of them afterward boasted, carried on without the Privy of any but the Lord Deputy and themselves; and every Body told the Lord *Montjoy*, that it was all Sham and Trick only to amuse the Protestants and remove him out of the Way, who was most likely to head them; yet the Lord *Tyrconnell* swore most solemnly, That he was in Earnest in this Message, and that he knew the *French* Court would oppose it to the utmost who regarded only their own Interest, and did not care if *Ireland* were sunk into the Pit of Hell, so they could give the Prince of *Orange* a Diversion but for three Months; but, said he, if the King be persuaded to ruin his fastest Friends, only to gratify *France*, and do himself no Service, he is neither so merciful nor wise as I believe him to be; if he recover *England*, *Ireland* will fall in Course: but he can never expect to conquer *England* by *Ireland*; if he attempts it he ruins *Ireland*, to do himself no Kindness, but rather to exasperate *England* the more against him, and  
make

make his Restoration impossible; intimating, that if the King would not do it, he would look on his Refusal to be forc'd on him by those in whose Power he was, and that he should think himself obliged to do it without his Consent. The Lord *Montjoy* alledged, That his going into *France* could not influence the Councils in *England*, who could reduce the Kingdom without his Assistance, and that he must either obey the Deputy, or declare War against him and King *James*'s Interest, which he did not think safe, since he had no Order nor Encouragement from *England*; but on the contrary, all the Advice he had from thence, was, to be quiet, and not to meddle; that he was obliged to King *James*, and neither his Conscience nor Gratitude would permit him, in his present Circumstances, to make War on his own Authority against him, whilst there was any Possibility of doing the Business peaceably. Upon these Motives Lord *Montjoy* proceeds in this Negociation, and took Shipping with *Rice* at *Waterford*, in *January* 1688, *Tynconnel* having first granted these general Concessions to the Protestants. 1. That no more Commissions should be given out, nor new Men raised. 2. That no more of the Army should be sent to the North. 3. That none should be questioned for what was past. 4. That no private House should be obliged to quarter Soldiers. These he sent about the Kingdom by Letters; yet the Lord *Montjoy* was no sooner gone, but according to his usual Falshood, he denied all, and was angry at the dispersing the Letters. Soon after came News, that the Lord *Montjoy* was made a Prisoner in the Bastile of *France*; which the more exasperated the Protestants against King *James*, as a Violator of publick Faith to his Subjects,

jects. and likewise ruined the little Reputation that his Lord Deputy had amongst them

Soon after a *French* Engineer landed at *Corke*, and came with all Expedition to *Dublin*, assuring *Tyrconnel* that *King James* would suddenly be with him, and that nothing was to be feared from *England* till the End of Summer; upon this the Face of Things began quickly to alter, and the little Hopes that had hitherto supported the *English* now utterly vanished; so that there appeared a Necessity of associating together, and getting into the Castles and best Places of Strength they had, for the Defence and Preservation of their Lives; some Protestants had a while before put themselves into a Posture of Defence in the North, &c. but Proclamations were issued out by the Council, signed by several Protestants, commanding them to go to their respective Homes, under the Penalty of being proceeded against as Traytors, which proved fatal to the *English*. they judging thereby the Danger was not so great as they imagined. But at length Matters were reduced to such Extremity, that no Course remained to preserve the Protestants, but of making their Escape; for though the Lord *Kingslon*. Sir *Arthur Roydon*. and others, endeavoured to have secured several Places, yet Matters were managed so indiscreetly. that all proved ineffectual, and their inconsiderable Forces were soon defeated; after which *Tyrconnel* disarmed all the Protestants throughout the Kingdom in one Day; in the Cities and Towns they shut up the Gates. and none were suffered to pass in or out without being strictly searched for Arms; under Pretence of which they also came into the *English* Houses, and often seized on their Plate and Money. or what else they could meet with in this Confusion, which lasted several Days,



Days, during which most of the Horses which belonged to the *English* Gentlemen and Farmers were seized in the Country, for the King's Use, which were brought into the Towns where the Soldiers were quartered in so great Numbers, in private as well as publick Houles, that the *English* had scarce Beds to lie on.

About this Time Colonel *Hamilton* is sent with an Army to the North of *Ireland*, and though more early in the Year than usual, yet the Judges were sent into the Country, on Pretence to punish the Thieves and Robbers that plundered the Protestants; but the Design was to condemn those poor Protestants that had taken up Arms and defended their Houses against them, and likewise to raise Money for the Army, there being very little in the Exchequer: And the Judges read a Letter in every County, directed from the Government to the principal Gentlemen, and to the Minister and Popish Priest of every Parish, requiring them to summon their Parishioners together, and persuade them to subscribe to the utmost of their Ability for the Subsistence of the King's Forces, assuring them that he would be soon at the Head of them with a considerable Assistance from *France*; and that they who had no Money should send in Meal, Malt, Beef, Cheese, Butter, Herrings, or else Leather, Brogues, Stockings, Wool, Cloth, Linnen, or any other Goods the Country afforded. This was a great Oppression to the Protestants, who though they had but very little left by the Rabble, yet must contribute largely, or else were reckoned Well-wishers to the King's Enemies.

The Lord *Galmoy* was likewise sent with Forces to guard the Passages between the North of *Ireland* and those Parts of *Munster* and *Connaught* that adjoined to *Ulster*, to prevent the South and  
Western

Western Protestants from joining, who being malicious and bloody Papists, first drew Blood there, causing two Gentlemen who had taken Arms for their own Defence, under Colonel *Sanderson*, to be hanged on a Sign-post at *Belmor*, and their Heads being cut off, were kick'd about the Streets by his Soldiers like Foot-balls; at *Ornagh* he took two others upon the same Pretence, and caused the Son first to hang his Father, and carry his Head on a Pole through the Streets, crying, *This is the Head of a Traytor*; and then the young Man himself was hanged: It was also reported, that some of his Dragoons meeting with a Clergyman's Wife, whose Husband had fled Northward, several of them, one after another, ravished her, and then ripped up her Belly, and exposed her with a dead Man upon her. At *Tipperary* an English Gentleman seeing some Dragoons marching towards his House, shut up his Doors, (it being late in the Evening) as if they were gone to Bed; but sixteen of them coming thither, and not being quickly admitted, they forced open his Doors, calling him Traytor, for shutting them against the King's Forces; and having pillaged all Things of Value, they then deflowered his Daughter and only Child before his Face; all the sixteen lay with her, and three of them (as was affirmed by his Family) after she was actually dead. These were the Beginnings of the Villanies which the Protestants suffered from these execrable Wretches.

While Things were in this Posture King *James* was hourly expected by the *Irish*, and almost every Post a false Alarm was given that he was landed, Bonfires being made, and Guns discharged in the several Garrisons, and that so often, that not only Protestants, but also many Papists thought it to be a Sham of *Tyrconnel*'s to discour-

rage the Protestants, and obtain better Terms  
 from them: but at length *March 12, 1689*, he  
 landed at *Kinsale*, at which the Protestants and  
 some Papists seemed not very well satisfy'd; may  
 the first were so indifferent, that for a Fortnight  
 after he arriv'd they would not believe it, be-  
 cause they imagin'd he had no great Kindness  
 for them; however they thought he would have  
 made their Condition more easy for the present,  
 and spoke them fair, considering the *Irish* depend-  
 ed upon many Friends which they boasted they  
 had in *Scotland* and *England*: But King *James* soon  
 let the World know he was not fond of such  
 Dependencies; for coming to *Cork* where he was  
 received by the Mayor and Aldermen in their  
 Formalities, the Recorder in a long Speech, mag-  
 nify'd the *Irish* Loyalty and Valour, saying  
 "That he now hop'd his Majesty was convinc-  
 ed of their Fidelity, and that they were bet-  
 ter Subjects than the Church of *England* Men;"  
 To this Part of the Speech the King replied,  
 "That he acknowledg'd all the Recorder had  
 said to be true, and that he hop'd by their  
 Forces, and the Assistance he should receive  
 from his Brother of *France*, to be restored to  
 his Throne, in Spight of those Slaves of the  
 Church of *England*." At this very Time the  
 Judges held the Assizes there, and one *Brown*, a  
 Gentleman of about 500 Pound a Year, who had  
 been in Arms against the Rapparees, being there  
 a Prisoner, he put himself on his Trial, and  
 petition'd King *James*, thinking that he would  
 begin with an act of Mercy, and give him his  
 Life, but on the Contrary, he left him to the  
 Law, whereby he was sure to be condemn'd,  
 and accordingly was hang'd and quarter'd;  
 from hence King *James* took his Journey  
 to *Dublin*, where he was received with all De-  
 monstration

monstrations of Joy imaginable, by *Tyrconnel* and the Popish Party, who look'd upon him as their only Support, Champion, and Deliverer: He was no sooner arrived, but the *Irish* discovered what his future Designs were, in their common Talk at publick Houses, declaring openly, "That the King would have such a powerful Army of *French*, *Irish* and *Scott* Roman Catholicks, as should force the *English* into Obedience; that he did not think of returning into *England* by the Means of any Protestant Friends, but by a *French* Power; so that when he came to his Throne, he might rule as he thought fit; that the Protestants of *Ireland* might feed themselves with what Hopes they pleased, but they should quickly find the King would neither value nor regard them. That the King had a long Time caress'd the damn'd Church of *England* (as they call'd it) and that he could do no good with them; but now he could do his Business without them, and so find an Opportunity of shaking them quite off; and they did not doubt but to be in the Midst of *England* by Midsummer, and make that the Seat of War, thereby preserving their own Country, Estates and Tenants, and living on the Church (as they call'd the *English*) who, they said, were rich, and a giddy, inconstant People, not being satisfied with any kind of Government and would, they doubted not, be soon divided and broken among themselves, so that they did not fear carrying their Point."

King *James* himself, by his Discourses and Actions soon confirm'd the same; for he had but two considerable Protestants in his Army, *Sir Thomas Newcomen* and Colonel *Russell* these he immediately disbanded, without any other Objection.



on but their Religion; and declared to Colonel *Sarsfield*, who desir'd Commissions for two of his Protestant Relations, and offered to be bound for their Fidelity, *That he would trust no Protestants*; and was heard to say as he came out of his Chapel, upon occasion of some of his Courtiers discoursing about Protestants *That a Protestant stunk in his Nostrils*; and as his Words, so his Deeds discovered his Abhorrence of them; for he had not been long in *Dublin*, when the Wife of one *Maxwell*, (who was condemned for betaking himself with some others to a strong House in *Queen's County* for the Security of their Lives) presented a Petition to the King to pardon her Husband; This poor Woman had by her piteous Intreaties prevailed with the High Sheriff to reprieve him for 15 Days, that she might use her Interest to save him, though against the Command of the bloody Lord *Gilmoy*, who order'd him to be presently executed; she accordingly went to *Dublin*, hoping that the King might be persuaded to do one Act of Grace, being just come to the City, and the High Sheriff went with her, and promised her Admittance to the Presence; where she appeared in the most lamentable Condition that was possible to excite Compassion. having four or five small Children hanging about her, all in Tears, and deliver'd her Petition, praying his Majesty to pardon, or at least to reprieve her poor Husband for some time; which she delivered in such melting Terms, as moved the very *Irish Nobility* then present to second her Request; and might have mollified the hardest Heart in the World; but the Answer she had from King *James* was, *Woman your Husband shall dye*; and the High Sheriff was severely reprimanded for not executing him according to his Warrant, and threatned, that if the Prisoner escaped he should

should dye for him; and was commanded to hang him immediately, which was done accordingly; there are several other Instances of this Kind, and it may easily be imagin'd how great an Encouragement this kind of Behaviour in a Prince, was to the rude Soldiers, to treat the poor Protestants, not only in the Country, but even in *Dublin* under the very Eye of the Government, in a barbarous Manner: It was ordinary with them to take the Meat that the poor People had provided for their Families, without Thanks or Payment; nor could a Protestant be abroad after Sun-set, without Danger of his Life. One *Power* bred a Protestant, but turn'd Papist, in King *James's* Time coming to his House one Evening was set upon by two Soldiers, demanding his Money, and calling him Heretick Dog, he thought to have excus'd himself, and made some Opposition, but was shot through the Body with a Pistol and fell dead, as well as unpitied, at his own Door: About the same Time a Gentleman walking in a Bowling-green in *Dublin* was stabbed by some Soldiers; and a poor Tapster of an Alehouse, standing one Day at the Door on the *Wood-key* was by some Dragoons thrown into the Water and drowned, and no Notice taken of it but only <sup>a</sup>s a Jest. So that considering how the King and Government did connive at Things of this Nature, and that all the *Irish* bear so implacable an Hatred to the *English*, and are People of much Cruelty and Forwardness to shed Blood, when they have an Advantage, and which to be sure was not lessened by their being manag'd by *French* Men: I say, considering all these Circumstances, it may seem very wonderful that they did not attempt a general Massacre, all the Time before the *English* Forces arriv'd there; but it must be

attributed only to the Divine Providence (which restrains even the Devils) that prevented these Blood hounds from destroying the poor Protestants, at whom they stood grinning, and wanted only the Word to cut their Throats, as they and their Predecessors did in 1641.

King *James*. before his Arrival in *Ireland*, had resolved immediately to call a Popish Parliament there, to destroy the Act of Settlement, and restore the *Irish* Rebels to their Estates, which he was so impatient in, that he issued out Writs for them to sit *May 7* 1689. at *Dublin* though it seem'd directly against his Interest at this Time, and many of his own Party ridiculed him and his Council to call a Parliament to spend their Time in wrangling about settling the Kingdom and disposing Estates before it was reduced to the King's Obedience: But hereby it pleased God to infatuate them; for had they applied themselves to the Siege of *Londonderry* it is to be feared that Town, and others in the *North*, had been taken before the Succours came. and then all *Ireland* had been their own, which might have been of very fatal Consequence.

For the Protestants upon the orders that were issued through all Parts of the Kingdom, to take away their Arms and serviceable Horses, concluded that an *English* Army was either landed in some part of the Kingdom, or that the Government expected one; which so encouraged the Protestants, that in many Places they betook themselves into Castles and strong Holds, thinking that if they could defend themselves from flying Parties and the Rabble, the *Irish* Army would be so employed by the Forces of *England*. that there could be no formal Sieges laid against them; and they should secure themselves with their Horses and Arms, till they might find an Opportunity

Opportunity of joining with the *English* Army; but these poor Men soon after found their Mistake, and thereupon were forced to surrender upon tolerable Conditions, had they been observed; but the *Irish*, instead of performing them, sent them to Goal, tried and executed several for High Treason and kept others in miserable Captivity and Slavery.

This vile Treachery and severe Usage encouraged the Protestants in the *North*, who were possessed of *Londonderry*, *Inniskilling*, and some other Places, to defend themselves against the utmost Efforts of the Enemy: For *Tyrconnel*, as we have heard, having armed a Rabble of 40 or 50 thousand *Irish* Papists, to live upon the Country without Pay, from whence ensued miserable Depredations, open and Noon-day Robberies, and an inevitable and sudden Ruin of the *British* and Protestant Interest in *Ireland*. The Protestants in the *North* thought themselves no longer under Obligation to be active in their own Destruction, but took up Arms in Defence of their Laws, against those who acted in Contradiction to all Laws; and from whom they had Reason to fear all kind of Cruelty and Barbarity.

It happen'd that the Lord *Tyrconnel* having Orders to transport 3 or 4000 of his *Irish* Soldiers to *England*, to assist King *James* he took a particular Care to send away the whole Regiment quarter'd in and about *Londonderry*, but soon saw his Error, and endeavoured to repair it, by commanding the Earl of *Antrim* to quarter there with his Regiment, who appeared before the Town without the King's Livery, or any Officers of Note, or the least Warning of their coming; and having no other Arms but Skeins, Clubs and such other Weapons as Rogues and



Tories use, and this happened about the very Time that the Protestants were alarmed with the Letter sent to the Lord *Mount Alexander*, concerning a designed Massacre. the People of the Town were so affrighted, that they refused em Entrance into the City, and consulted their own Safety, concluding to shut their Gates: One of the Companies were already in View of the Town, and two of the Officers in it; but the younger Sort got together, and with their Swords drawn ran to the main Guard, seized the Key, drew up the Bridge, and lock'd the Ferry-gate, though the *Irish* Soldiers were advanced within sixty Yards of it; from thence they went to secure the other three Gates, and having placed Guards at each of them, met in the Market: So happily did these resolute Youths nick the very Minute of their Design, and upon such a seemingly rash and desperate Action did the Preservation of that important Place, and consequently in some measure the whole Kingdom, out of the Hands of the *Irish* depend.

The Alarm of the designed Massacre, and *Tyrconnell's* arming such a numerous Swarm of *Irish* Highlanders, had the like Effect upon the Protestants of *Inniskillin*; and knowing this was the only Place of Consequence upon *Lough-earn*, which had held out with remarkable Courage against the *Irish* Rebels in 1641, and which if they were now possess'd of, would give them an open Passage from *Connaught* to *Ulster*, they therefore resolved not to admit the two Companies of *Irish* Papists, which were order'd thither to quarter in the Town. but instantly dispatched Letters to all the Protestant Gentlemen thereabout, for their Advice and Assistance in that Juncture, not Judging themselves able to keep out the two Foot Companies, they be-  
ing

ing but 80 Dwellers in all. and few or no Arms amongst them. The Messengers return'd with very little Encouragement, most of the *English* dissuading them from the Enterprize, as dangerous, the *Irish* being well provided with Arms, Ammunition and Provisions; whereas they had not 10 Pound of Powder, nor 20 well fix'd Fire Arms in the Town; but the Resolution of the People surmounted all these Difficulties, resolving to run all Hazards, rather than expose their Lives to the Mercy of their barbarous and bloody-principled Enemies; the *Irish* Army approaching them within 18 Miles, they made fresh Instances to their Neighbours to come to their Aid promising that whilst they stay'd with them they should have free Quarter for Man and Horse; whereupon several Protestants came into the Town, with their best Horses and Arms, promising to stand by them in Defence of their Lives and the Protestant Religion, which they did believe, by the Preparations they heard were making by the Enemy, would be very soon invaded; and the News they heard from *Londonderry* did much fortify their Courage; so that upon the Approach of the *Irish* Companies the *Inniskillin* Horse and Foot advanc'd toward them, but came no sooner in View. e're the two Companies, with the whole Rabble that were with them, turned their Backs and fled, without halting, in very great Fear and Disorder; and their Officers being then at Dinner at a Gentleman's House not far from thence, hearing the *Inniskillen* Men were come out, left their Dinners before they had half done, and ran away after them, and all of 'em got the next Day 24 Miles off, in great Terror of the *Inniskilliners* who afterward performed many admirable Actions against the *Irish*.

King *James's* pretended Parliament sat in *Dublin*, from May 7, 1689. to July 20 following, and

that short Time entirely destroy'd the Settlement of Ireland; and outed both Protestant Clergy and Laity of their Freeholds and Inheritances, by repealing the two Acts of Settlement; " Whereby two Thirds of the Protestants of the Kingdom held their Estates; and " and the real Estates of all that dwelt or stay'd " in any Place in the three Kingdoms, who did " not own King James's Power, or corresponded with any such as they termed Rebels, or " were any ways aiding abetting, or assisting to " them from *August* 1. 1688, are declared to be " forfeited and vested in the King." By which Clause almost every Protestant that could write in the Kingdom had forfeited his Estate; for the Pacquets went constantly from *London* to *Dublin* and back again, from *August*, 1688 to *March* following and few had Friends in *England*, or the *North*, but corresponded with them by Letters and every such Letter is made, by this Clause, a Forfeiture of Estate. They likewise passed an Act of Attainder, whereby above 3000 Protestants were attainted, and their Estates forfeited to the King, some for being in Arms, but the greatest Part for absenting themselves, and going out of the Kingdom.

These Proceedings were thought very severe by the Protestants, since those that armed themselves did not accept any Thing, even against those whom the Lord Deputy, against the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Interest of the Nation, had entrusted with Arms and Employments, except in their own Defence, when invaded and assaulted by them; neither was there one Act of Hostility committed, wherein the Protestants were not on the Defensive: their Crime then, if any, was only that they were unwilling to be robb'd and plunder'd as their Neighbours were, with

without Opposition; but disarm'd some of those, who, under Colour of being King James's Soldiers, destroyed the Country; this was all the Reason Tyrconnel had to proclaim them Rebels, for killing and murdering his Majesty's Subjects, and with pillaging the Country; whereas it was notorious, they never kill'd any but whom they found actually robbing; for killing of them the Laws of the Kingdom not only indemnify'd them, but likewise assured them a Reward; and it is as plain, that the Protestants preserved the Country from being pillaged, and for this they now forfeited their Estates. As for those that were absent, it would have been unwisely done for the Protestants that were gone to England, to have returned again to a ruinous Kingdom the actual Seat of War, where all the Goods they had left behind were embezzled by Robbers, and their Estates given to those Sons of Rebellion in 1641, and when Men of the best Estates in Ireland wish'd themselves away, and many were content to leave all and venture their Lives in little Boats, to the Mercy of the Seas in the Depth of Winter, reckoning any Thing safer and easier than to stay under a Government, which had effectually destroy'd all the Measures of Right and Wrong, and condemned so many Gentlemen to the Loss of all, without allowing them the Favour of being either try'd or heard; and of those that stay'd, many of them were killed by the Soldiers, murdered in their Houses, executed by Martial Laws, starv'd and famish'd in Goals, and destroyed by many other Violences; the Papists declaring, "That they designed to starve one half of the Protestants and hang the other, and that it would never be well till this was done;" so that



that all King *James's* Proceedings in that Kingdom, clearly manifested his Design to be the absolute enslaving it, to arbitrary Power and Oppression, by his invading the Liberties and Estates, and exposing their Lives to his peremptory Will and Pleasure, This the Protestants in the North as well as others were very sensible of, and therefore the People of *Londonderry* resolv'd to hold out to the last Extremity.

Some Time before the *English* Navy being out at Sea, to prevent Supplies from *France* Admiral *Herbert*, with his Squadron, had Notice by his Scout Ships that Part of the *French* Fleet were abroad, and stood for the *Irish* Coasts; whereupon he sailed after them, and found them in *Bantry Bay*, whereupon drawing his Ships into a Line and lying upon the Stretch, he battered them extremely, from ten in the Morning till five in the Afternoon; at which Time the *French*, Admiral went off, and stood farther into the Bay. On our Side we lost Captain *Aylmer*, of the *Portland*, with a Lieutenant and about 300 Seamen, killed and wounded. The Damage of the *French* was equal to ours, though they had the Bay to shelter them, the Wind, and a double Number of Ships. So soon as the *English* were gone the *French* weighed Anchor, for fear of a second Engagement.

King *James* now sets forward with his Army towards *Londonderry*, where the Garrison had already proclaimed King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and had received from *England* 480 Barrels of Powder, and Arms for 2000 Men, with a Commission to Colonel *Lundy*, to be Governor, and Promise of further Supply: King *James's* Army consisted in about 12000 Men and a very good Train of Artillery; his Generals were Monsieur de *Mornont*, General of the *French* Horse, the Sieur

*Piscina*

*Piscina*, General of the Foot, Colonel *Hamilton*, Lieutenant General of the *Irish* Foot, all under the Standard of *France*; and consisting of several Regiments commanded by the Duke of *Berwick*, and *Fitz-James* his Brother, the Lord *Netterville*, *Abercorn* Colonel *Sheldon*, and Colonel *Ranetagh*: The King had some Assurances given him that the Town, upon his Approach. would undoubtedly surrender, and that the very Sight of so formidable an Army would fright them into Compliance, and therefore, *April* 18 he advances with his Army before the Walls, with flying Colours: Orders were given that none should fire, till the King's Demands were first known; but the People of *Londonderry*, wondering to see Lieutenant General *Hamilton* approaching the Walls contrary to his Engagement, not to come within 4 Miles of the Town imagined they were betrayed, and fired their Guns upon them; which being unexpected by the Enemy, some of them fled, others hid themselves, and a great many were killed; and it was reported, that one Captain *Froy* was slain near the King's Person, who was in some Disorder to find himself so roughly and unmannerly treated, by those from whom he expected a dutiful Compliance, as well as at the Behaviour of his Army. so different from the Character he had received of both; and therefore those in the Town, who had encouraged him to try this dangerous Experiment, sent some Persons to the King to excuse it, by alledging the Difficulty of commanding an untractable Multitude. But upon their Return, they were three Days before this kept out by the People; Colonel *Cunningham* and *Richards* came into the Lough from *England*, with two Regiments and other Necessaries, for Supply of *Derry*, with Instructions to receive Orders from Governor

*Lunly*,

Lundy, who thereupon called a Council of War, where the two Colonels being present, with others, unacquainted with the Condition of the Town, or the Inclination, or Resolution of the People, they make an order, "That there  
 " not being Provision in the Town for the Pre-  
 " sent Garrison and the two Regiments for a-  
 " bove a Week or ten Days, and the Place not  
 " being tenable against a formidable Army,  
 " therefore it was not adviseable to land the  
 " two Regiments, and that considering the E-  
 " nemy will soon possess themselves of the Place,  
 " the principal Officers shall privately withdraw  
 " that the Inhabitants, by a timely Capitulation,  
 " on, may make the better Terms with the E-  
 " nemy." In pursuance of this Order, Colonel  
*Cunningham*, *Richards*, with their Officers went to  
 their Ships, which, with 2 Regiments on Board,  
 sailed back for *England*: And the Council in  
 pursuance of these pernicious Intentions, pro-  
 ceeded to conclude upon a Surrender, and drew  
 up a Paper to that Purpose, which most of them  
 signed; and the Town was designed to have been  
 delivered up in two or three Days.

In the mean Time, the Officers and Soldiers in  
*Londonderry*, who knew nothing of the Order of  
 Council, earnestly intreated Colonel *Lundy*, that  
 the *English* Forces might land, that with their  
 Assistance they might take the Field, and fight  
 the Enemy, before the Cannon were brought  
 over in order to the Preservation of that Cor-  
 ner, into which the Provisions and Wealth of  
 three or four Counties was crouded: The Colo-  
 nel, to delude them, told them publicly, "That  
 " it was resolved the *English* Forces should imme-  
 " diately land, and when they were in their  
 " Quarters the Gates should be opened, and all  
 " join in Defence of the Town;" and to carry  
 on

on the Intrigue, the Sheriffs were order'd to go through the City, to provide Quarters for them; but all this was a meer Sham, that he and the Officers might get away with the greater Ease and Safety.

A Party of *Irish* having a few Days before attempted to ford the River at *Castle-Fin*, were repulsed by some Forces sent out of *Derry*, who opposed their coming over, till all their Ammunition was spent; after which they followed the rest of the *English* Army, which were 10000 strong, and made good their Retreat to *Derry*, but were much surprized to find the Gates shut against them by the Governor's Order; so that many Officers, Soldiers and private Gentlemen were forced that Night to lye about the Walls, but the next Day, with much Difficulty, and some Violence upon the Centinel, by firing at him and calling for Fire to burn the Gates, that and the other Gates were thrown open. This and other Passages occasion'd great Jealousies of the Governor; but when the Town Clerk found it absolutely necessary to publish the Resolutions of the Council of War, "That Colonel *Cunningham*, his Ships, Men and Provision should return to *England*, and all Gentlemen and others in Arms should quit the Garrison and go along with him;" the common Soldiers were extremely enraged at their Officers, several of whom at this Time had deserted them, and fled for *England*, so that they could not forbear expressing it with Violence on some of them. One Captain *Bell* was shot dead, and another burn'd, who with more Officers was got into a Boat, as they imagined to get away.

King *James*, upon the Repulse he had received, retired the same Evening with his Army to *St. Johnstown*, about five Miles from *Derry* and stay'd



stay'd there two Days to wait for an Answer from the City, to the Proposal he had made April 17. " That to prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood, if they would surrender the City, honourable Terms should be allowed them;" the Council in the Absence of Colonel *Lundy* (who thought fit, for his Safety, to keep his Chamber) proceeded upon the Governor's Project, to chuse 20 Men to go out and Capitulate with King *James*; but the Multitude upon the Walls and at the Gates, hearing of it, were so exceedingly incensed, that they threaten'd " If a Man of them offered to go out on that Errand, they would treat him as a Betrayer of the Town, the Protestant Religion, and King *William's* Interest. Upon which none of them durst offer to go, and so a stop was put to that dangerous Capitulation, notwithstanding the Orders of the Governor and Council; so little did the Soldiers regard any Command that seemed to cross their Resolutions of defending the City. The Multitude having thus broken the Authority of the Council, they with Colonel *Lundy* thought fit to withdraw, and he, with some Difficulty, got to the Ships at *Culmore* and from thence to *England*; upon which the Garrison seeing they were deserted by their Governor, and having resolved to defend the Town against the Enemy, they chose Mr. *Walker*, a Clergyman, and Major *Baker* to be their Governors during the Siege; and the Soldiers whom their Officers had left chose their Captains and each Captain which of the Colonels he would serve under, as they pleased themselves; and one Mr. *Bennet* was sent to *England* to give an Account of their Resolution to maintain the Place, and to desire speedy Succours to be sent from thence for their Assistance.

April

April 9, a Trumpet came to the Wall from King James to know why they sent not out Commissioners to treat according to their Proposals; but the People having put a Stop to it, Colonel Witney wrote a few Lines to excuse themselves to the King: The next Day the Lord Strabane came up, making many Proposals, and offering the King's Pardon, Protection, and Favour, if they would surrender the Town; but these fine Words had no Place with the Garrison; for at that very Time of this Capitulation the Enemy were observed to use that opportunity for drawing their Cannon to a convenient Stand: Whereupon they desired his Lordship to withdraw, or else they should fire upon him; he still continued his Compliments, till they plainly told him, they would never deliver the Town to any but King William and Queen Mary and their Order. My Lord having ended all his Insinuations, found himself at last obliged to retire; so that King James having lost all Hopes of Accomodation, resolved to reduce them by Force, and raised several Batteries against the Town. his head Quarters being still at *St. Johnstown*: The Fort of *Culmore* having some Time before been deserted by Capt. *Femmat* the Governor, by Order of Colonel Lundy, and a few Irish possess themselves of it, but it was soon recover'd by a small Artifice; divers Skirmishes happen'd between the two Armies during the Siege, particularly May 6. in a Sally made by the Besiegers, wherein 200 of the Enemy were kill'd. and 500 wounded, 300 of whom died in a few Days of their Wounds; and among others General *Mommune* a Frenchman, with other Officers of Note.

The Enemy now remove their main Body from *St. Johnstown* and pitch their Tents about two Miles from *Derry* on an Hill, placing such strict Guard

Guards on all Sides of the Town, that the Besieged found it impossible to convey or receive any Intelligence, and difficult to come by the Wells of Water, which they often fought for, and cost some of them their Blood. *June 4.* the Enemy, with a Body of Horse and Foot, made an Attack on the *Windmill Works*, beginning with a loud Huzza, which was seconded from all Parts of the Camp with most dreadful Shrieks and Howlings of a numerous Rabble that attended their Army: The Faggot Men were forced to quit their new Defence which they laid before them for Security against the Shot, and run for it; Captain *Butler*, with 30 Horse, mounted the Works, but none of his Men falling, though shot at, the Besieged found they had Armour, and therefore killed their Horses, whereby only three Troopers escaped: The *Irish Foot* did not run away as fast as usual, which was wonder'd at, till it was observed, that in their Retreat they took the Dead on their Backs, to secure themselves from the Shot; which was more service than when they were alive. The Enemy in this Action lost 400 Men, most of their Officers kill'd, and some made Prisoners; the Besieged had only six Soldiers and a Captain killed.

*June 15.* a Fleet of 30 Sail came into the *Lough* from *England*, but to prevent their coming up to the Town, the Enemy contrived a Boom of Timber, joined with Iron Chains and a Cable of 11 Inches, and afterwards another, of which the Besieged had an Account by some Prisoners taken, which very much discouraged them, for they doubted whether the Fleet (at the first Sight of which they were very joyful) would be able to get up with the Provisions, which they so extreamly wanted, insomuch that the Men, where they could find an Horse a grazing near the

the *Windmill*, would kill and eat him. The Enemy, upon the appearing of the Ships, seemed to be in a mighty Consternation, pulling down their Tents, and the Soldiers changing their red Coats, ran away; but the Terror was soon over, when they saw them make no great Attempt to come up, tho' they had both Wind and Tide to assist them; and thereupon they raised Batteries to hinder them, and made the Boom aforementioned.

June 24. *Rosen* the French Marshal General, arrived in the Camp, and finding so little Progress in the Siege, he swore by the Belly of God, he would demolish the Town, and bury the besieged in the Ashes, and put all to the Sword, without Consideration of Age or Sex, and study the most exquisite Torments, to lengthen out the Misery of those that opposed his Command; but Providence disappointed his cruel Malice, and delivered the poor Protestants out of his bloody Hands.

The Besieged used all possible Endeavours to get Intelligence from the Ships, by making many Signs from the Steeple by Cannon-shot, and by drawing in their Flag to represent their distressed Condition to them; but all proved ineffectual: At length, June 25. one *Roeb*, who got to the Water side over against them, and then swam cross the River, came and gave them an Account of the Ships Men, Provision and Arms in them for their Relief, adding, that it was desired that if he got safe to Town, to give them in the Ships Notice of it by four Guns from the Steeple; which was accordingly done: They endeavoured to send back to Major General *Kirk*, and one went to that Purpose, but was taken and hanged by the Enemy. The Besieged were more streightned every Day by the Enemy, their Iron



Iron Balls being now spent; so that they were obliged to make Balls of Brick, cover'd over with Lead. June 30, the Lord *Clancarty*, at the Head of a Regiment, possesses himself of a Line, and enters some Miners in a low Cellar; but the Besieged fir'd so briskly upon them that his Lordship was forced to quit his Post, and leave his Miners and a 100 of his best Men dead on the Place, which much discouraged the *Irish*, who had a Prophecy among them, that *Clancarty* should knock at the Gates of *Derry*; but we see, that little Value is to be put either upon *Irish* Prophecies or Courage.

The same Day Governor *Baker* died, generally lamented, which was a sensible Loss to the Garrison, being a valiant Person, who, in all his Actions, shewed the greatest Honour, Courage and Conduct. And now *Rosen* sends a Letter into the Town, "That if they did not surrender by 6 o'Clock, Afternoon July 1, he would order all the Protestants in the adjacent Towns to be driven under the Walls of *Derry*, where they should perish if not relieved by the Besieged; that he would destroy all the Country, if any Troops came to their Relief; but if the Garrison would become Royalists (as he termed it) and deliver on any tolerable Conditions, he would protect them from all Injuries, and give them his Favour." The Besieged received all these Proposals with Contempt and some Indignation, having before made an Order, that it should be Death to mention a Surrender. The Enemy drove the poor Protestants, according to their Threatning, under the Walls; and the Besieged thinking them Enemies fired on them, but were mightily pleased to hear that divine Providence had spared them, and that their Shot had killed three of the Enemy.

Enemy: There were some thousands of them, which so enraged the Besieged, that in Sight of their Camp, they erected a Gallows, threatening to hang their Friends that were Prisoners, unless they were removed, and sent home again: The Prisoners themselves reproached the *Irish*, declaring they could not blame the Besieged for putting them to Death, seeing their People exercised such Severity and Cruelty upon the poor Protestants that were under Protection. The Sight of the Gallows, and the Importunity of some Friends of those that were to suffer, at length prevailed, so that *July 4.* the poor People had Leave to return home: The Enemy had now advanced so near the Town, that the Besieged from the Works, could talk with the *Irish*, who expressed great Prejudice and Hatred against the *French*, cursing those damned Fellows that watch'd in Trunks (meaning their Jackboots) who had all Preferments in the Army that fell, and took the Bread out of their Mouths; and they believed would have all the Kingdom to themselves at last. *July 11.* The Enemy called for a Parley; and sent one to know if they would treat about surrendering; which they Besieged, to gain Time, thought fit to agree to, and Commissioners were named on both Sides; but the Enemy not allowing Time till *July 26.* the Treaty soon ended. The Garrison was now reduced to 4456 Men. who were under the greatest Extremity for want of Provision, insomuch that Horse flesh was sold for 20 d. a Pound; a Quarter of a Dog satined by eating the dead Bodies of the *Irish*. 5 s. 6 d. a Dog's Head half a Crown; a Cat 4 s. 6 d. a Rat a Shilling; a Mouse Six-pence; a Pound of Graves a Shilling; a Pound of Tallow four Shillings; a Pound of salted Hides a Shilling; a Quart of Horse Blood a Shilling;

Shilling; a Horse-pudding Sixpence; an Handful of Sea-wreck Two-pence; of Chickweed a Penny; a Quart of Meal, when found, a Shilling: Yea, at length they were under so great a Necessity, that they had nothing left, unless they could prey one upon another: And a tall Gentleman thought his Body in such Danger, that he hid himself for three Days, imagining that several Soldiers looked on him with a greedy Eye: Their Drink was Water, and cost very dear, they mixt it with Ginger and Anniseeds, of which they had great Plenty: They eat a Composition of Tallow and Starch, which did not only nourish and support them, but was an infallible Cure of the Looseness, which many were sorely troubled with: And yet in the Midst of this Extremity, the Spirit and Courage of the Soldiers was so great, that they were often heard confidently, and with some Anger contend, whether they should take their Pay and Arrears in Ireland or in France? When, alas! they could not promise themselves twelve Hours Life.

But the Hour of their Extremity was the fit Season for Divine Providence to interpose, and render itself more observable in their Deliverance; for July 28. about seven in the Evening, they perceived three Ships, which were the *Montjoy* of Derry, the *Phoenix* of Colerain, and the *Dartmouth* Frigate, which they soon discovered were the Ships Major General *Kirk* had sent, who had assured them, "That he would certainly relieve them, when they could hold out no longer, though he endangered himself, his Men and Ships." The Enemy fired most desperately upon them from the Fort of *Culmore*, and both Sides of the River, and they made sufficient Returns with the greatest Bravery: When they had passed the Fort, the Expectations

tions of Speedy Succour raised in the Besieged a strange Transport of Joy: The *Monjoy* made a little Stop at the Boom, occasioned by her Rebound after striking and breaking it, so that she was run a-ground; upon which the Enemy, who gathered in Swarms to the Water-side, set up the loudest Huzza's, and the most dreadful to the Besieged that they ever heard, crying out; *Their Ships were taken*: They fired all their Guns upon her, and were preparing Boats to launch her; but by great Providence, she firing a Broad-side, the Shock loosened her, so that she got clear, and passed the Boom; the *Phoenix* all this while was engaged, and the *Dartmouth* gave them very warm Entertainment. At length the Ships got to them, to the inexpressible Transport and Comfort of the distressed Garrison, who only reckoned upon two Days Life, and had no more than nine lean Horses left, and one Pint of Meal to each Man. Hunger and the Fatigue of War had so prevailed among them, that of 7500 Men regimented, they had now alive but 4300, whereof at least the fourth Part were rendered unserviceable: This brave Undertaking, and their several successful Attempts against the Enemy, so discouraged them, that July 9<sup>th</sup> they raised the Siege, and run away in the Night, robbing and burning all before them for several Miles; the next Morning, after the Men were refreshed with their new Provisions, they went out to see what was become of the Besiegers, whom they saw in their March, and pursued a little too far, so that the Rear-Guard of the Enemies Horse turned and killed seven of their Men; and upon the News of the Defeat of Lieutenant General Mackay, they so hastened their March, that they broke in Pieces four of their great Guns, and threw twelve Cart loads of



of Arms and Ammunition into the River; and the Besieged had above 2000 Arms, besides Money, Cloaths, &c. Thus after 105 Days being close besieged by near 20000 Men, constantly supplied from *Dublin*, God Almighty was pleased to deliver this poor City from a powerful and inveterate Enemy, to their great Disappointment and Disreputation, insomuch that King *James*, upon his retiring was reported to have said, in Disdain to his Commanders, *Gentlemen, I think we have made a very fine Summer's Work of it.* The Enemy lost near 9000 Men before the Walls, and 100 of their best Officers, most of them by the Sword, the rest of Fevers and Flux, and the *French Pox*; which was very remarkable on the Bodies of several of their dead Officers and Soldiers: Whereas the Besieged had only 80 Men slain by the Enemy.

Neither were the *Inniskillen* Men wanting in performing many notable Actions; for during the whole Time of the Siege, they kept at least one half of the *Irish* Army from coming before *Londonderry*, for fear they should relieve the Town; so that they durst not make a regular Attack upon the Place, but were forced to divide their Men, keeping strong Guards at several distant Places; and therefore they deserve no small Part of the Honour of that Place's Preservation; and particularly the remarkable Defeat given to the *Irish* the Day before the raising the Siege (the News whereof made the Enemy run away with such great Haste and Precipitation) ought never to be forgotten; for, *July 30.* the *Inniskilleners* hearing that a Body of about 6000 *Irish*, under Major General *Mackarty* were marching toward them, they very boldly and bravely went to meet them about twenty Miles off, at a Place called *Newtown-Butler*, where,

where, though the Enemy had secured their Army beyond a long Bog, yet the Courage of the *English* was so great, that they came up to the Mouths of their Cannon, and seized them, killing all their Cannoneers, which so terrified the *Irish*, that both Horse and Foot instantly fled; and the *English* Foot pursuing theirs, and giving Quarter to few or none but Officers that Day, they not having Courage to fight for their Lives, desperately leapt into the Bog in several Places, to the Number of about 500, and none escaped drowning except one Person only, who got through, after many a Shot made at him. In this Action a remarkable Stroke was given by Captain *William Smith*, who, at one Blow, cut off the upper Part of a Man's Head, just under the Hat, as much of the Scull as was within the Hat, with all the Brains, being quite struck away from the other Part of the Scull that stuck with the Body, and not so much as a Bit of Skin to keep them together, but what was cut quite through. *Mackarty*, when his Men were fled, got away, with five or six Officers, to a Wood near the Place where the Cannon were taken, and soon after they came back again on Horseback, and he fired his Pistol on those that guarded the Cannon; upon which seven or eight Soldiers, who before thought them Friends, fired their Musquets at him and killed his Horse, wounding him in several Places, and then, to put him out of his Pain, one of the Soldiers club'd his Musquet to have knocked out his Brains, upon which one of the Company cry'd out, *Hold your Hand: it is General Mackarty*: Whereupon Captain *Cooper* coming up, gave him and the rest Quarter; and asking him why he so rashly hazarded his Life, when he might have escaped, he replied, That he now

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found the Kingdom like to be lost, his Army being the best for Number that King James had unless those before Derry, who were then much broken, and that he came with Design to lose his Life, and was sorry he had mist of his End, being unwilling to out-live that Day. This was a most remarkable Victory, obtained under the Command of the valiant Colonel *Woolsey*; the *Irish* were reckoned 5000, and the *English* not above 2000: The Enemy confest, that 3000 of their Men were wanting; they lost seven Cannon, 14 Barrels of Powder, a great Quantity of Cannon and Musquer Ball, and all their Drums and Colours; the *English* lost not above 20 Men, and 40 or 50 wounded; and hereby the Siege of *Innishillen* was prevented, which by a Letter found about *Mackarty*, was designed to have been besieged in a few Days by this Party, who were to be joined with another Detachment, under the Duke of *Berwick*. It has been since published, that this great Defeat partly happened by a fatal Mistake in the Word of Command among the *Irish*; for the *Innishillen* Men charged the *Irish* Right Wing very smartly, which *Mackarty* perceiving, ordered some of his Men to face to the Right and march to relieve their Friends; the Officer that received the Orders mistook, and commanding the Men, instead of facing to the Right, to face to the Right about, and so march: The *Irish* in the Rear seeing their Front look with their Faces towards them, and move, thought they had been running, and so, without more ado, threw down their Arms and ran away; the rest seeing their Men run in the Rear, run after them for Company, and were most of them cut off or drowned in the Bogs and Loughs; so unhappy may a small Thing prove to a great Body of

Men.

Men, and at other Times a little Thing in Appearance proves very advantageous: For we read of a Roman at Plough, who stood with his Ox-yoke in a Gap, and stopt the Soldiers that were running away; this made them face about and gain the Field; tho' all Men must acknowledge, in that Action of the *Inniskilliners* as well as at *Londonderry*, there was a great deal to be attributed to their Valour, but more to the Providence of God.

Another remarkable Passage is related; That before the Fight, about an Hour and a half after Sun-set, the People of *Inniskilling* saw from thence a great Light in the Air near *Newtown Butler*, where *Mackarty* then lay with his Army, which continued for some Hours; so that they concluded the *Irish* had set that Town and all the Country about on Fire, or raised some Fire in the Country to give Notice to Lieutenant General *Sarsfield* to join with them; but after the Fight was over upon Enquiry into the Matter, they found there was no Fire that Night raised among them; this is the more observable, because the like was seen at *Glaslough*, before the Action they had there with the *Irish* of the Garrison of *Charlemount*, whom they defeated March 13 before, killing their Leader, and about 200 of his Men, with the Loss only of one Captain; about a Week before this happened, at a eleven o'Clock in a very dark Night, several Pillars of Fire appeared in the Air, pointing from towards *Charlemount*, which were so light they might have read by them, and continued thus two Hours, to the Observation of all People there; the like Account we have from Dr. *Robert Maxwell* late Bishop of *Kilmore*, of what happened in the Rebellion of 1641, who relates, that 56 Protestant Men, Women and Children, were taken



out of his House and drowned by the Irish at *Curbridge*. and that three or four Nights before, in the dark of the Moon, about one o'Clock in the Night, a Light was observed in the manner of a Long Pillar, to shine for a great Way through the Air, and refracted upon the North Gabel of his House, it gave so great a Light about an Hour together, that divers of the Watch read both Letters and Books of a very small Character thereby, which the Doctor believed did presage that bloody Massacre which ensued. It is difficult to enter into the Reason of these Things; but this is only Matter of Fact, and every Man is left to his own Conjectures in them.

During these Transactions in *Ireland*, King *William* gives out Commissions in *England* to raise 18 Regiments of Foot, and 4 or 5 of Horse, and the Levies went on with such Speed, that the greatest Part were raised, armed and cloathed in six Weeks; and *August* 12, they were embarked at *High Lake* near *Chester*, for *Ireland*, being about 10000 Foot and Horse, and three Days after they landed near *Carrickfergus*, encamping in the Fields that Night; the Garrison apprehending a Siege, burnt their Suburbs, and prepar'd for their Defence: Whereupon Duke *Schomberg*, General of all their Majesties Forces, sent five Regiments to encamp before the Town, and more the next Day, which surrounded it: Whereupon they desired a Parley, and required Time to send to King *James* for Succours, which the General absolutely refused, and with his Mortars and Cannon played upon the Town. Four Days after they beat another Parley, desiring to march out with their Drums beating, &c. but this was denied. During the Parley the Duke visited all the Trenches, and observed the Wall of the Ca-

He, and a poor *Dutchman* was shot from the Walls, making his Return to Reproaches against King *William*, saying, that their King was a Tinker King, and had nothing but Brass Money: He was not nimble enough at getting off, when the Parley was over, and so lost his Life for his Jest's sake. *August 25*, the Guns play'd furiously; and made a great Breach in the Walls, which the *Irish* seeing, and fearing our Men would enter, they got a great Number of Cattle together, and drove them all as near the Top of the Breach as they could force them to go, keeping themselves close behind them, several of the Cattle were killed by the Shot, and as they fell the *Irish* threw Earth, Stones and Wood upon them; but this they thought would not hold long, and so desired a third Parley; and at length it was agreed, that they should march out with their Arms and some Baggage, which they did accordingly; and the *English* Forces took Possession of *Carrickfergus* (as they had done before of the Towns of *Belfast* and *Antrim*, which the Enemy for Fear had deserted.) While they were in Treaty at *Carrickfergus*, and the Articles were scarce agreed to. *Mackarty Moor*, Governor of the Town, was got into the Duke's Kirchen in the *English* Camp, which his Grace smiled at, and did not invite him to Dinner, saying, "If he had stay'd like a Soldier with his Men, he would have sent to him; but if he would go and eat with Servants in a Kitchen, let him be doing." The Country People were so inveterate against the Soldiers (remembering how they served them some few Days before) that they stript most part of the Women, and forced a great many Arms from the Men, and took it very ill, that the Duke did not hang them all, notwithstanding the Articles:

Nay, they were so rude, that the Duke was obliged to ride in among them with his Pistol in his Hand, to keep the *Irish* from being murdered, who were forced to fly to the Soldiers for Protection, so angry were they at one another, though they all lived in the same Country. The Enemy had about 150 killed and wounded in the Siege, and the *English* as many killed, and about sixty wounded.

The *English* Army now march on through *Lisburn*, *Dromore*, *Loughbrickland* and so to *Newry*, which they found newly burnt and deserted by the Duke of *Berwick* and his Forces who had only Time to set it on Fire, and take all the People, with whatsoever was valuable, along with him; upon which the Duke sent a Trumpet to the *Irish*, to let them know, that if they burnt any more Towns he would give them no Quarter. September the 7th the Army marched thence to *Dundalk*, which was likewise deserted, but not burnt. Here they encamped within a Mile of the Town, in a low moist Ground, where many grew sickly; the *Irish* boasting to the Protestants, when they went away, "That they would drive the *English* all back again into the Sea, or else they would die of themselves, not being used to the Field. especially in a strange Country, and at that Time of the Year." And indeed it went hard with them for want of Provisions, especially Bread. of which the Enemy grew sensible: They had before retreated beyond *Drogheda* in much Consternation, not doubting but the Duke, being an old General, would not have come into *Ireland* without a good Army, and all Things well provided, and were upon the point of deserting not only *Drogheda*, but *Dublin* also, by the Advice of the French General, *Rosen*, and to retreat towards *Athlone* and *Limerick*:  
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BUT when De Rosen heard that Duke Schomberg halted, he said, he was sure he wanted something; and therefore advised to hasten their Army together, in which Tyrconnel was so diligent, that from 8000 he made a Body of 20000 Men in a few Days, with which they marched to Ardee, and seized all the Provisions that the Protestants had got together for the *English* Army, which they expected there, but unhappily staid too long. September 13, the *English* received 204 Loads of Bread, which the Ships brought to *Carlingford*, and then the General ordered the Camp to be fortified, that the Enemy might not break in upon them, and strict Guards to be kept in the Night, because they had Notice that the *Irish* marched toward them and accordingly, Sept. 21, they advanced to the *English* Camp, and offer'd Battle; but the Duke knowing they could not easily force the Camp, and for several other prudential Reasons, declined to engage; upon which the *Irish* drew off to *Drogheda*; about which Time a Correspondence was discovered to be held with the Enemy, by some Soldiers in the *French* Regiments, upon which six of the principal Conspirators were hanged, who all died Papists, and confess they listed themselves on purpose to bring over as many as they could to King *James*; they pray'd for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and asked their Pardons for their Treachery; and declared further that if the General had engaged the Enemy when they offered Battle, they themselves were to put the *English* Army into Confusion, by firing in the Rear, and so deserting; so that it was a great Providence that the Duke then refused to fight.

September 25, Colonel Lloyd, with about 1000 *Irishkilliners*, defeated a Body of about 5000 *Irish*



that were going to *Sligo*. killing 700, and taking *O Kelly* and 40 more Officers Prisoners, with a great Booty of about 8000 Cattle; with the Loss of about 14 Men; the News whereof coming to Duke *Schomberg* in the Camp, he ordered all the *Inniskillin* Horse and Foot, that had lately joyned the Army, to draw out, and complimented them so far as to ride all along the Line with his Hat off, and then ordered some Fire-Works to be made for Joy. A great many now began to be sick, by Reason of the bad Weather, and most were so lazy, that they would starve rather than fetch Fern, or any thing else to keep themselves dry and warm, which was the greatest Occasion of Distempers, Sickness, and Death itself, and many when dead were incredibly lousy, which caused the General to say, "The Englishmen will fight, but they do not love to Work." Both Forage and Firing grew now very scarce, which increased the Distempers among the Soldiers, upon which the Sick were ordered to be sent aboard the Ships at *Dundalk*, that had brought fresh Provisions. The Beginning of *November* the Enemy decamp't, and march'd to Winter Quarters; and at the same Time *Sligo* was taken by *Sarsfield*, who came upon them unexpectedly with a considerable Body, and the Place not being provided either with Ammunition or Water, it was surrender'd to the *Irish* upon honourable Terms. As the *English* Soldiers came out of the Town, Colonel *Sarsfield* stood with a Purse of Guineas, and offered to every one that would serve King *James* five Guineas Advance with Horse and Arms, but they all answered, *They would never fight for the Papishes* (as they called them;) nay, even those that were dying in the Camp, were wont to express no other Sorrow, than *Plague on these Papishes, that we*

must

*must die here, and not have Leave to go and fight them.* The Sickness encreased, and great Numbers died daily; so that the General concluded to decamp from *Dundalk*, and march back to *Belfast*, which they did accordingly, the Sick being carried in Waggon, and the Army marched in the Wet and Snow, so that many perished by the Way; yet upon an Alarm that the Enemy were coming upon them, they grew very hearty, and began to unbuckle their Tents, saying, if the *Irish* came, they should pay for their lying in the Cold so long. As to the Number of Men that died of this great Mortality, it is computed that near 1700 died about *Dundalk*; about 2000 were shipped for *England*, and not much above half came ashore, but died at Sea; so that in the whole they lost near 5000 Men, which was imputed very much to the bad Weather, the Moisture of the Place, and the Tenderness and Careless of the *English*; whereas the *Dutch* kept themselves so clean and warm that not above eleven of them died the whole Campaign.

A remarkable Passage happened about a Year before near *Dundalk*, which seemed to presage this great Destruction of Men: A worthy Gentleman, with two others and their Servants, coming from *Dublin* to the North, as they approached *Dundalk*, about nine at Night, espied several little twinkling Lights in the Air, and two larger than the rest, about the Ground where the *English* Army encamped this Year; and at the same Time they heard the most heavy and dismal Groans in the World, which continued till they came to *Newry*, but the Lights they saw only upon the Plains of *Dundalk*.

November 23, the Enemy, with a Detachment of 1600 Men, and 100 Volunteers, attempted to force the Pass at *Newry*, and then designed to

go along the Line and destroy the Frontier Garrisons; there were not above 60 *English* in the Town, and not 40 of those able to present a Musquet, who yet fired upon them so briskly, and affrighted them with such loud Huzza's, that the *Irish* imagining their Number far greater than they were, fled, leaving six Men dead, and carrying off twelve Horse-load of dead and wounded Men.

*December 4.* Colonel *Woolsey* went in the Night, with a Party of *Inniskillin* Horse toward *Belturbet*, upon whose Approach, the Garrison being surprized, yielded to the first Summons: Soon after Lieutenant General *Mackarty* made his Escape from *Inniskillin*, where he was Prisoner; he pretended to be sick, and desired the Duke to remove his Guards, which was granted, and the Town standing on a Lough, the Water came to the Door, whereupon he found means to corrupt a Serjeant, and got two small Boats to carry him and his Moveables; the Serjeant went along with him, but returned that Night to deliver a Letter, which, with *Mackarty's* Pass, being found in the Lining of his Hat, he was the next Day shot for it. The Duke was much concerned at the News, and said, *He took him for a Man of Honour, but he would not expect that in an Irishman any more.*

In *February* Colonel *Woolsey*, with 700 Foot and 300 Horse, routed a Body of 4000 *Irish* at *Cavan*, killing about 300 Soldiers, and several Officers; and 60 Soldiers with 12 Officers were made Prisoners, and all with the Loss only of 30 Men and two Captains. *February 15*, Sir *John Lanier*, with a Party of 1000 Horse, Foot and Dragoons, went from *Newry* toward *Dundalk*, which the Enemy had fortified very well since the *English* left it, and therefore he did not think fit to attempt

attempt it; however, he drew up near the Town, upon which the *Irish* came out, but soon retired, and the Major General burnt the West Part of the Town, and took *Bedloe Castle*, with 30 Prisoners, and the Ensign that commanded it, and returned with a Booty of nigh 1500 Cows and Horses; the Ensign was carried before the General at *Lisburn*, who took him aside, to enquire about the Posture of the Enemy; "You (says the Duke) have a Commission, and for that Reason (if not otherwise) you are a Gentleman; this obligeth you to speak Truth, which if you do not, I can know it, by examining other Prisoners, and then I shall have no good Opinion of you." But though the Duke talked with him half an Hour, it was thought he discovered little material.

In March 4000 *Danes* landed at *Belfast*, with the Prince of *Wirtemberg* their General being lusty Fellows, well cloathed and Armed. The same Month about 5000 *French* Foot landed at *Kinsale*, with two Generals, de count de *Lauzun* and the Marquis de *Lery*, King *James* sending back as many *Irish* under Lord General *Macarty*. Our Fleet then attending the Queen of *Spain* made this Undertaking very easy to the *French*; before they arrived some of the *Irish* Nobility, in Discourse with King *James*, said to him. "Sir, Is not the *French* Fleet in Danger to be met with by the *English*?" To which he reply'd, "That he, during his Time, had taken Care that the *English* should not have any great Strength by Sea, and now to equip and set out a Fleet would be tedious, besides the Expences; and that he did not doubt but the *French* would master them." As soon as these Forces landed at *Cork*, above 500 of them died of some pestilent Distemper. The rest being come to *Dublin* General



neral *Lauzun* sent to the Governor, *Lutterel*, to deliver the Keys of the City and Castle to him, pursuant to King *James's* Promise to his Master, to give him Possession of *Dublin*, and all the strong Places in *Ireland*; *Lutterel* reply'd, He would first acquaint the King, and accordingly accompanied the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to address the King, telling him, That they had hitherto ventured their Lives and Fortunes in his Defence, and therefore hoped he would still confide in them to govern *Dublin* and would not make them absolute Subjects to the *French* King; To whom he replied, "That he had engaged his Word to his Brother *Lewis*, that *Lauzun* should have the Government of *Dublin*, and could not recede from it;" thereupon the Keys of the City were delivered; but the *French* would not mount the Guards till they had likewise the Keys of the Castle which were likewise given them; and so they possess themselves of the City and Castle, swearing, "They had no King but *Lewis*, nor would they obey any other, and under him their General *Lauzun*." From thence they grew very insolent to Protestants, and as they passed by any of the Clergy, threatened them severely; so that they consulted to disguise themselves in Frize Coats, for Security against these *French* Vultures: They had not been above two Days in *Dublin* when they murdered two or three Protestant Cloathiers in the City, at a Place called the *Comb*. for protecting their Wives from being ravish'd; of which inhuman Act no more Notice was taken, than if two Dogs had been shot; they took a Country Maid, that came to Market with her Father, and deflower'd her in the open Street, at noon day; many such barbarous Villanies were committed by them; There being above 10000 Protestants

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testant Men in *Dublin* able to bear Arms, besides Women and Children, and being barr'd the Liberty of the Markets by the *French* who would not sell Bread to the Protestants, as the *Irish* Papist Soldiers did, it was almost a Miracle that thousands had not perish'd; many of the sober Papists were also sensible of their Rudeness, and grew mighty dejected; often complaining to their King, of the disdainful Treatment they received from the *French*, who called them ten thousand Cowards, and said they were beaten by a Priest and a few Boys, meaning the valiant Colonel *Walker*. and those matchless Heroes that defended *Londonderry*; and that *De Auzan*, the *French* Ambassador, said to General *Lauzun* upon his Landing, "You are come to be a Sacrifice for a poor-spirited and cowardly People, whose Soldiers will never fight, and whose Officers would never obey Orders; and therefore will meet with the same Fate that our Master's Army did at *Candia*, that is, to be wasted and destroyed by the Enemy, and deserted by those you came to relieve." But King *James* had no Power to help himself or them, having, by his degenerate and mean Spirit, truckled his Authority, and became subject to the Power of *France*, and contented himself to be a King in Name only.

April 6, 1690, Colonel *Woolsey*, with a detach'd Party of 700 Men, attacked the Castle of *Killishandra* with such Briskness, that the Enemy surrendered it they being 150 Men. On the 10th Colonel *Tiffin* sent out a Party from *Balls Shannon*, who brought off a Prey from the Neighbourhood of *Sligo* and killed about 16 of the Enemy as they pursued them.

April 12, Sir *Cloudesly Shovel* came to *Belfast* as Convoy to several Ships that brought over Necessaries.

cessaries for the Army; and having Notice of a Frigate at Anchor in the Bay of *Dublin*, with other small Vessels loaden with Hides, Tallow, Wool, and some Plate, and other Goods designed for *France*, he sailed thither, and leaving the great Ships in the Bay, with the *Monmouth* Yacht, and two or three more, and several Long boats, he went to *Polebeg*, where the Frigate lay, of 16 Guns and four Patteraroes, being a *Scotch* Ship, taken the Year before in the Channel. When King *James* heard of it, he said, *It was some of his loyal Subjects of England returning to their Duty and Allegiance*: But when he saw them draw near the Ship, and heard the Firing, he rid out towards *King's-End*, whither gathered a vast Croud of all Sorts, and several Regiments were drawn up, if possible, to kill those bold Fellows at Sea, who durst, on a *Good Friday* (as this happened to be) perform so wicked a Deed, as they said. Captain *Bennet*, that commanded the Frigate, run her aground, and after several Firings from her, and some other Ships, when they saw a Fire-Ship coming in, which *Sir Cloudsly* had given a Sign to, they all quitted the Frigate, being at first 40, but lost six or seven in the Action. *Sir Cloudsly* was in the *Monmouth* Yacht. In going off, one of the Hoys run aground, and was dry when the Tide was gone, and the rest of the Boats were not far off, being full of armed Men, and a *Frenchman* of King *James's* Guards, coming nigh the Boats to fire his Pistols in a Bravado, had his Horse shot under him, and was forced to fling off his Jack-Boats, and run back in his Stockings to save himself; some of the Seamen went on Shore, and took his Saddle and Furniture; when the Tide came in they went off with their Prize to the Ships below; King *James* went

went back very much dissatisfied, and it was reported, should say, *That all the Protestants in Ireland were of Cromwel's Breed, and deserved to have their Throats cut.* However, all the Protestants that walked that Way, during the Action, were imprisoned, and two made their Escape to the Boats.

Monsieur Callimat, with his French Regiment, had some Time before attempted the strong Castle of *Charlemount*, setting Fire to the Bridge, and killing about 20 Men, and then retreated. May 2, the *Irish* put Relief into the Place, which was conveyed with a Detachment of 4 or 500 Men, and Colonel Callimot's Regiment, who were quartered at *Blackwater*, knowing the Convoy must return, resolved to intercept them; and as they were marching back, fell upon them with such Courage, that he forced them again into the Castle, and this they did two or three Times, which *Teague O Regan*, the old *Irish* Governor, perceiving he swore, *If they could not get out, they should have no Entertainment nor Lodging within*; and was as good as his Word; for they were forced to make little Huts within the Pallisadoes, so that, between *Teague* and the *English*, the poor Fellows were in a lamentable Condition: After this the General sent several Regiments to block up *Charlemont*, with Cannon, to force old *Teague* out of his Nest if possible, having summoned him to surrender some Time before, who returned the Messenger with this Answer, "Go tell thy Master, from *Teague O Regan*, that he's an old Knave, and by *St. Patrick* he shall not have the Town at all;" when, God knows, there was no Town standing, but an old Castle: The Duke only smiled, and said, *He would give Teague greater Reason to be angry in a short Time*; and accordingly those *Irish* that had a Mind to go out, being kept in, soon made

Victuals



Victuals very scarce; and no Hopes of Relief appearing, the old Governor sent to treat about a Surrender, and the Terms being soon agreed to, this strong Place was delivered up, about 400 Men, and 200 Irish Women and Children, marching out of it; the Duke stood to observe them, and *Teague O Regan* appeared mounted upon an old Stone-Horse, very lame with Spavin and Scratches, and so vicious that he would fall a squealing and kicking if any Body came near him; *Teague* himself had a great Bunch upon his Back, a plain red Coat, an old Weather-beaten Wig, hanging down at full length, a little narrow white Beaver cock'd up, a yellow Cravat-string, tied all on one Side. his Boots in a thousand Wrinkles, and though it was very hot, a great Muff hanging about his Back, and, for Uniformity, he was almost fuddled with Brandy; in this Equipage he approached the Duke, but had not made his Compliment, e'er the Jade fell to Work, so that the Duke had scarce Time to make a civil Return. The Duke smiled afterwards, and said, *Teague's Horse was very mad, and himself very drunk.* The Officers and Soldiers made the Duke a great many Legs, and stared upon him, to see whether he was a Man, or some other strange Creature; for the Irish usually asked one another *Who is this Shambeare, that all this talk is of?* The Duke enquired, why they kept so many Women and Children in their Garrison, which must needs consume their Provisions; he was told, "That the Irish are naturally very hospitable, and that they all fared alike; but that the Soldiers would never be persuaded to stay in Garrison without their Wives and Mistresses." The Duke replied. *That there was more Love than Policy in it.* The Irish were to be guarded to *Ardmagh*, and among them were two Priests,

one of whom in the Way, fell into Discourse with a Dragoon, about Transubstantiation; but being baffled, was so angry, that he fell a beating the Dragoon, who not being used to Blows, thresh'd the Priest severely; of which Complaint being made to *Tague* he reply'd, *I be very glad of it, what te Deel had he to dispute Religion with a Dragoon.*

King *William* being concerned that the War in *Ireland* should divert his Forces from going into *France*, resolved, if possible, to reduce the Kingdom this Summer, by going thither in Person; and every one knew his Majesty's Industry, Courage and Resolution to be so great, that he would endeavour to make a quick Dispatch; and accordingly having left *Kensington*. *June 4*, ten Days after he arrived safe at *Carrickfergus* with his Highness Prince *George* the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Manchester*, and *Scarborough*, with several other Persons of Quality, and was received by the Officers, Soldiers, and People, with all manner of Demonstrations of Joy, the latter looking on his Majesty as their good Angel, who was come to deliver them from worse than *Agyptian* Bondage: Next Day several of the Nobility, Gentry, Officers and Clergy, presented a very loyal Address to the King, which he graciously accepted. His Majesty was not idle, and seeing Things did not go on so fast as he desired, expressed some Dissatisfaction, saying, *That he did not come there to let Grass grow under his Feet.* He made his Word good; for having taken a View of his Army, which, with the great Recruits lately sent from *England*, amounted to about 36000, compounded of *English*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Germans*, and *French*, his Majesty advanced towards *Dundalk*.

The certain News of King *William's* Landing coming to *Dublin*, it was moved by some *Irish* in  
King

King *James's* Council, that the Protestants should be shut up in Churches and Hospitals, and then if they lost the Day, to set Fire to all, and destroy the People and City together: But the *Irish* papists, both in the City and Army, apply'd themselves to the King, and told him, "They should then be as much Sufferers as the Protestants, and that they would not draw a sword in his Defence, unless all Thoughts of burning the City were laid aside; and declared further, that as soon as they heard of any Appearance of Fire, they would desert his Service, and fly to King *William's* Mercy." Which Menaces put a Stop to this horrid Project. Before this a Camp had been laid out by the *Irish* about *Andree*, and King *James* had ordered his Army to rendezvous there from several Parts of the Kingdom, and *June 16*, he marched out of *Dublin*, to join them with about 6000 *French* Foot, mostly old Soldiers, well arm'd and clad. The whole *Irish* Army encamp't made about 27000, all well cloathed and in good Heart, both Horse and Foot; besides 15000 more that remained in Garrisons, and the same Day 6000 of the Country Militia came to quarter in the City. The Protestants expected the *Irish* would have been much dejected upon King *William's* Arrival; but on the contrary, they triumph'd and rejoyc'd, as if they had got him in a Pound, and the Day were their own, assuring themselves, that either the *French* Fleet would prevent his Return to *England*, or that an Insurrection would be made there; boasting that an hundred thousand Men were ready to rise, and declare for a Common-wealth. The Protestants knew not what to believe, for they were kept as Prisoners of War, and could know no more than they were pleased to tell them; but they were afraid

that

that some desperate Persons had undertaken to destroy King *William*, because their Confidence was so great, that some told their Protestant Friends, *They would be glad to go to Mass within a Twelvemonth.*

When King *James* was gone, Colonel *Lutterel*, who was left Governor, ordered all Persons that walked the Streets without Swords or Bayonets, to be taken up and secured; whereby all Protestants, who were suffered to wear none, were put into Custody, after which followed a Proclamation, "That not above five Protestants, besides the Family, should meet together in any Place, upon pain of Death." So that now they durst not go to Church, as they had hitherto done; the Church Men still remained with them, tho' they had lost all their Maintenance by the *Irish* Parliament, except what was given them by the People; Dr. *King* was sent Prisoner to the Castle, and few Protestants durst walk the Streets. The Method that King *James* and the *French* proposed to deal with King *William's* Army, was to make good the Passes upon the *Newry* Mountains, and at *Dundalk*; to spin out the War, and dispute their Ground without coming to a general Battle, till they came to the *Boyne*, and there to defend the Pass; but still without a Battle, if they could help it, much hoping for some extraordinary Thing from a Party in *England*. &c.

But King *William* soon broke all their Measures for resolving to lose no Time, he came to the Camp at *Lough Britland*, where, having taken a critical Review of every Regiment, his Majesty and Prince *George* had their moving Houses set up, and never after lay out of the Camp during their stay in *Ireland*. The King ordered a Party to go out to discover the Motions of the Enemy, and heard they were marching off from *Dundalk* to



to *Ardee*; upon which the *English* Army advanced towards *Newry*, and from thence to *Dundalk*, and so forward to *Ardee*; the *Irish* still retiring, and at length passing over the *Boyne*; upon which the whole Army moved in three Lines towards the *Boyne*, and by the Way some Dragoons found in an old House about 200 Scyths, stretched out upon Beams, which the Enemy had either forgot, or left behind in haste; and one of them being brought to the King, he smiled, and said, *It was a desperate Weapon.* The *Irish* encamped on the other Side the *Boyne*, and the King from an Hill took a View of them, and then rid along the River Side, to make more strict Observations; during which a Cannon-Ball from the Enemy killed two Horses and a Man, about an hundred Yards from the King; and instantly comes another, which had like to have been a fatal Bullet, for it grazed upon the Bank of the River, and in the rising slanted upon the King's Right Shoulder, and tore out a Piece of his Coat, and also the Skin and Flesh, and afterwards broke the Head of a Gentleman's Pistol. A Gentleman seeing his Majesty struck, rid up, and put his Handkerchief upon the Place; his Majesty took little Notice of it, but rid on about forty Yards further, the Enemy's Cannon firing upon them all the while, and killed two of the Guards and nine Horses, disturbing the rest; which the *Irish* perceiving, set up a prodigious Shout all over the Camp, as if our Army had been destroy'd. The King went to change his Coat, and get his Shoulder dressed, and then rid about to see the Army; after which a Council of War was called, and his Majesty declared, that he was resolved to pass the River next Day; and accordingly all things were provided, every Man having a green Bough or Sprig in

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his Hat, the Enemy wearing Pieces of Paper in theirs; the Word that Night was *Westminster*, and about twelve at Night rid with Torches quite through the Army.

The next Morning, *July 1.* the *Dutch* Blue Guards took the River first, some eight or ten a breast, being presently up almost to the Middle; the Enemy stood on the other Side, but did not fire till our Men were toward the Middle of the River, and then a whole Peal of Shot came from the Hedges, Breast-works and Houses all about, but only one Man fell, and another staggered. A Lieutenant of Grenadiers was the first that got Footing on the other Side, who instantly drew up two Files of Men, then stooped, and the Enemy fired over him from the next Hedge, and afterwards quitted the Hedge, which the rest that were posted thereabout seeing, they likewise fled, and were followed by a Volley of Shot from our Men, when on a sudden a great many Battalions of the Enemy appeared from behind the little Hills; we had two *French* Regiments, and one *English*, who passed the River at the same Time, about two hundred Yards below, and routed those that opposed them; the *Dutch* advanced still, and the *Irish* quitted the Hedges and Van, straggling up and down the Field: All our Horse went over to the Right and Left, except one Squadron of *Danes*, whom Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* charg'd so home with sixty Horse, that they came faster back than they went. The want of Horse was so apparent here, that the very Country People cried out, *Horse. Horse*; which Word going to the Right Wing, who thought it had been *Halt*, stopt them nigh half an Hour's Time; which with about forty *Irish* Horse breaking through the *French* Regiment at the same Time, was thought

thought to be the Occasion of Duke Schomberg's going over so unseasonably; for in this Hurry he was killed near a little Village beyond the River: The *Irish* Troopers, as they rid thro' struck at him with their Swords; and some believe that his own Men, firing too hastily when the Duke was before them, shot him themselves; his mortal Wound was through the Neck, and he had one or two Cuts in the Head; he fell down and did not speak one Word: Dr. *Walker* going, as was said, to look after the Duke, was shot in the Belly. The Action continued very hot for about an Hour, but then the *Irish* retreated to a rising Ground, and drew up to charge our Party again that had passed the River. The *Danish* and *Dutch* Horse, with Colonel *Woolsey's* Horse and Dragoons, and likewise the *Danish* Foot, and Colonel *Cutts's* Regiment, now got over the River. The King, during these Transactions, was almost every where, riding between our Army and theirs, and giving the necessary Orders, attended only with one Dragoon, and then passed the River with some Difficulty; for his Horse being bogg'd on the other Side, he was forced to alight, till a Gentleman helped him to get his Horse out; when the Men were got on the other Bank, and put in Order, his Majesty drew his Sword, but with some Trouble, by reason of his wounded Arm, and marched before them towards the Enemy, who were coming in good Order upon our Foot, with double the Number, and charg'd several times at the Head of them; our Horse were forced to give Ground, though the King was with them; his Majesty went to the *Irish* *liners*, and asked *What they would do for him?* and advanced before them; their Officer told them who it was, and at the Head of these Men the

King

King received the Enemy's Fire. The Danish Horse once gave way, but the King went himself, and brought 'em up again; of the Irish, King James's Horse and Foot Guards principally maintained this Opposition, and suffer'd much. Lieutenant General *Hamilton*, who had been employ'd by King *William*, betray'd his Trust, finding the Irish Foot did not answer his Expectation, he put himself at the Head of the Horse; and when they were defeated he was taken Prisoner, having received a Wound on the Head, was brought to the King, who asked him whether the Irish would fight any more? Yes, said he, and please your Majesty, upon my Honour, I believe they will; they have a good Body of Horse still. The King looked a little aside at him, and repeated once or twice, *Your Honour*, &c. intimating, that he had but little left, who had forfeited it by joining with *Tyrconnel*; and this was all the Rebuke the King gave him (who always said much in few Words) for his Unfaithfulness. In the mean Time, the Irish being beaten from the Pass, the English hastned towards the Body of the Enemy that were posted at *Duleek*; and as they advanced, the Enemy drew off with such Speed, that they left a great many Arms and Ammunition behind in that Village; and before our Horse could come up to attack them, they were gone at least a Mile before, their Horse and Ammunition in the Rear, and their Foot marching in great Haste and Confusion. We pursued them three Miles, but did not attack them, by reason of the boggy Fields and Ditches. Of the Irish were killed the Lords *Dungannon* and *Carlingsford*, and many other Officers, with about 1500 Men. It was observed, that most of the Horsemen who charged so desperately, were drunk with Brandy; of which each Man that Morning had half a Pint for his own



own Share. Of the *English* were killed nigh 400; but the greatest Loss was of Duke *Schömburg*, whom his very Enemies acknowledged a brave Man, and a great General: He was certainly a Man of excellent Education, who was thoroughly acquainted with Men and Things, courteous and civil to all, and yet had always something so great, that commanded Respect from all Persons: A strong, hearty Man, though eighty two Years old; and when unbowelled, his Heart, Entrails and Brain were as fresh and sound as a Man of twenty, and might have probably lived much longer, if Providence had not ordered it otherwise.

King *James*, during Part of the Action, stood at a little old Church upon a Hill; but when he saw how Masters went, he marched to *Duleek*, and from thence to *Dublin*. The first News at that Place was; "That King *James* had got the Day, our General was killed, and the Prince of *Orange* (as they called him) taken Prisoner; That the *French* Fleet was in the Bay of *Dublin*; That a *French* Express was come from *Watersford*, with the News of taking the Isle of *Wight* by the *French*, and of their being gone to *Dover*." This was very afflicting to the poor Protestants, who were all confined to their Houses; but towards Night, some that had made their Escape upon tired Horses, brought Word, that the *Irish* were much worsted; and others, that they were totally routed. About Ten o'Clock that Night King *James* came in with about 200 Horse, all in Disorder; they concluded now that it was an absolute Defeat, and that the *English* were just ready to come into Town, but were greatly surprized, when an Hour or two after, they heard the whole Body of the *Irish* Horse coming in, in very

very good Order, with Kettle-Drums, Hautboys and Trumpets; and early the next Morning the French, and a great part of the Irish Foot, who being a little rested, marched out again to meet the English, that were supposed to draw nigh.

When King James came to the Castle-Gate the Lady Tyrconnel met him, and after he was up Stairs, asked him what he would have for his Supper; who then gave her an Account what a Breakfast he had got, which made him have but little Stomach to his Supper. Next Morning, July 2, about five o'Clock, King James sent for the Irish Lord-Mayor, and some principal Persons, to the Castle, and told them, "That in England he had an Army which durst have fought, but they proved false and deserted him; and that here he had an Army which was loyal enough but would not stand by him, so that he was necessitated to provide for his Safety, and that they should make the best Terms for themselves that they could: He told his menial Servants, that he should now have no farther Occasion to keep such a Court as he had done, and that therefore they were at Liberty to dispose of themselves: He desired them all to be kind to the Protestants, and not to burn or injure them nor the City; for though he quitted it, he did not quit his Interest in it." Immediately after he took Horse, and with about twelve in Company went towards Bray, and so to Waterford, having appointed his Carriages to meet him another Way, where he embarked for France, having some Days before, distrusting the Issue, ordered Sir Patrick Trant to go from the Camp at the Boyne to Waterford, and provide Shipping. It's said he did not sleep till he got on Ship-board. All that Day nothing was to be seen

in *Dublin* but Officers, Carriages, and dusty wounded Soldiers, with several of King *James's* Horse Guards coming in straggling without Pistols or Swords, and the principal Popish Persons of the Town their Wives and Families going away, The Gates were still kept by the *Irish* Militia, and the Castle by 250 of the Governor's Foot-Soldiers, who still threatned, that before they left the City they would burn and plunder it. This of a long Time had been their Talk (as we have heard) though King *James* said, *It was a Report raised by the Protestants to make him odious*; yet some *Irish* Persons of Note advised their Protestant Friends, a few Days before this, to leave the Town because they would not be safe there.

The Protestants (some of whom were got into the Hospitals, Colleges and Churches, others into stinking, nasty and unhealthy Rooms) knew not what to think of themselves, but hoped the *English* were so near as to prevent their being burnt; but about four in the Afternoon, instead of them they perceived the *Irish* Horse, which were drawn out in the Morning, and was thought to be quite gone, entering the Town, followed by the *French* and *Irish* Foot, in a full Body; presently a Noise run through the City, that they were come to fire it; and the Papists who had secured themselves in Protestants Houses, began to look brisk again; but all these Forces marched through the Town without doing any Injury, and were drawn up by *Tyrconnel* on the further Side of it, to march away; the Militia followed them, only the Governor remained, who at last resolved to march also, and drive 200 or 300 of the principal Protestants Prisoners before him; but while they were preparing for this, a false Alarm was spread,

spread, that a Party of *English* being landed at the Harbour, were just at the Town's End; it was too dusky to discover the Truth, and they had no Time to send a Messenger, but in Haste shifted for themselves. The Protestants now began to look out (whom the *Irish* had released, not out of Love to them, but for fear the *English* were at their Heels) yet knew not well in what Condition they were; but venturing to the Castle they found Captain *Farlow*, who had been Prisoner there, keeping Garrison alone; upon which, Captain *Eitz-Gerald*, and several others who had been Prisoners went and stay'd there all Night; still they were unsecure, and had no Arms; early next Morning, *July 3.* the Protestants run about to the Papists Houses demanding their Arms, who being quite dispirited, delivered them without Dispute; and the Bishop of *Meath*, *Dr. King*, and several other principal Protestants sent away an Express to King *William*. That the Town was at Liberty, desiring his Majesty's Presence and Protection and began to form a Protestant Militia. Till *Thursday July, 3,* in the Afternoon, they heard not a Word of the *English* Army, and Reports were raised that the *French* and *Irish* were coming back which much damp'd the Protestants; but this was soon blown over, and they now perceiv'd themselves to be free which filled their Hearts with so much Joy, that they run about saluting and embracing one another, and blessing God for this wonderful Deliverance, as if they had been raised from the Dead. The Streets were filled with Crouds and Shouts, and the Papists were now under the same Terrors that they had been in some Days before. At eight that Night one Troop of *English* Dragoons came as a Guard to an Officer, who was sent to take Charge of the



Stores; it is impossible to express the Rejoicing of the People at the Sight of them; they hung about the Horses, and were ready to pull the Men off, and hugg'd them in their Arms, as they march'd up to the Castle.

The Night after the Battle the *English* lay upon their Arms at *Duleek*; and next Morning a Party was sent to fetch the Tents and Baggage from beyond the *Boyne*, and another Party of 1000 Horse and Dragoons, and 300 Foot, and eight Pieces of Cannon, marched to summon *Drogheda*. The Governor received the first Summons very indifferently; but being threatned, that if he forc'd the Cannon to be fir'd on them they should have no quarter. Thereupon he believing that the *Irish* Army was totally routed, surrendered upon Condition to be conducted to *Athlone*, there being about 1300 of them, who marched out without Arms, according to agreement.

July 3. King *William* march'd forward and was met at *Bally Brigham* by one Mr. *Saunders* from the Protestants of *Dublin* with a Tender of their Allegiance; The Duke of *Ormond* marched thither with 1000 Horse and the *Dutch* Guards took Possession of the Castle; and two Days after his Majesty came to *Finglas*. within two Miles of *Dublin*, 300 Citizens coming to wait upon and welcome him and his Army; and Abundance of People flock'd from all Places to see the Camp, and their great Deliverer, whose just Merits found Commendations from his very Enemies, and whose Soul is not subject to Fear, or any thing that is below a Prince, and who is only faulty in exposing his Royal Person too far. On Sunday his Majesty went to St. *Patrick's* Church in *Dublin*, and returned to his Camp to Dinner; and on Monday the Bishops and Clergy presented

presented a very loyal Address, the Bishop of Meath making a Speech, telling his Majesty. "That they came not to beg his Protection, for he had given sufficient Demonstrations of his Affection towards them, by venturing his Royal Person for their Deliverance; but they came to congratulate his Arrival, to pray for the Continuance of his good Success, and to give his Majesty all the Assurances imaginable of their Loyalty and Obedience, entreating him not to think the worse of them for staying in Ireland, and submitting to a Power that it was impossible for them to resist, since they had been as serviceable to his Majesty's Interest by staying, as they could have been otherwise, &c." The King made Answer, "That as he had, by the Blessing of God, succeeded so far, he doubted not, but by God's Assistance, to free them absolutely, and that in a short Time from Popish Tyranny, which was his Design in coming." Then they desired his Majesty's Leave to appoint a Day of publick Thanksgiving, which was done accordingly.

The Irish went away in such Haste, that they left 16000*l.* in Brass-Money in the Treasury, and a great Quantity of French Soules; of the first of which King James coined above eleven hundred thousand Pounds, the Half-Crowns of which were now cried down for Pence. Yet this did not grate so heavily upon the People as his late taking away all the Protestant Staple Goods, as Wool, Hides and Tallow, to send to France, in Exchange for Wine and Linnen for his Army: Their tanned Leather was also taken away for the Use of the Soldiers. The Revenue he raised otherways was by a Subsidy granted by Parliament, of twenty-seven thousand Pounds

a Month, for thirteen Months, which fell severely upon the Protestants, who were forced to pay ready Money, though by plundering they were generally deprived of their Stocks, Rents and Incomes; and to shew what future Security they were like to have for their Estates, King *James* by Proclamation, under Pretence, of his Prerogative Royal, laid a Tax of 20000 Pounds a Month, for three Months, upon Goods and Chattels; that granted by Parliament being only upon Land. This Way of levying Money startled every Body; the pretended Parliament was then in Being, and adjourned till *January* 22, 1689, which happened to be about the very Time when the King and his Council were upon this Project. Some in the Council opposed it, alledging, "There was no need of levying Money by extraordinary Ways, when it might be had otherwise; and that it would cause his Enemies to say, that he affected arbitrary Power." But he was very angry with those that spake against it, saying, "That they had made him believe it was a Branch of his Prerogative to levy Money. and if he could not do that he could do nothing;" and thereupon Popish Commissioners were appointed to assess it; who never failed to lay the greatest Burthen upon their Protestant Neighbours, who, in effect paid all the Taxes that King *James* ever received in Ireland.

*July* 7 King *William* published a Declaration, assuring all Labourers, Soldiers, Farmers, Ploughmen and Courtiers, as also all Citizens, Tradesmen Townsmen and Artificers, of his Royal Protection, who should return to their Abodes by *August* 1, and deliver their Arms to the Justices of Peace, and that they should be secured in their legal Rights, Goods, Stocks, and Chattels,

tels, &c. The next Day the King took a View of his Army by distinct Regiments; and though it rained very fast, yet his Majesty sat on Horse-back in the Midst of it. It was observable, that with Heat, Dust and Marching, most of the Soldiers had got very sore Lips; nor was his Majesty himself exempt from this Inconvenience, for he had toiled and laboured as much as the best of them. July 9. the King had an Account of the Misfortune of the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets; and at the same Time he divided his Army, going himself with the greatest Part westward, and sending Lieutenant General *Douglas*, with three Regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and ten of Foot, towards *Athlone*, about 50 Miles from *Dublin*. In their March they took two Spies with Letters from *Athlone*; one was to advise one *Tute* to defend an Island near *Mullingar*, in which the Governor had store of Horses, and other Things of Value: Another Letter was from an Officer at *Athlone*, to his Father in the Country, telling him, "That the Lord *Tyrconnel* Duke of *Berwick*, and several other great Officers were come to *Limerick*, with a good Body of Horse, and that all their Army would be there in two or three Days, so that they would make either a Hog or a Dog of it (as he expressed it;) that the *Dauphin* was landed in *England* with a great Army; that the *French* had beat the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets; that Duke *Schomberg* was dead, and it was said the Prince of *Orange* was so too; that their King was gone to *France*, but it was no great matter where he was, for they were better without him." Then he advised his Father not to take a Protection from the *English*, because those that did so were looked upon as Enemies. And after his Letter was sealed,



sealed. he had writ on the Outside, "Just now we have an Account from a Gentleman that is come to us from *Dublin*, that *Orange* is certainly dead, so that all will be well again." Such were their Hopes and Expectations at that Time; yet we find that the *Irish* had but a mean Opinion of King *James*. Some of them saying, "That he was fitter to be a Monk than a King." And *Sarsfield*, some Time afterward. speaking of the Action at the *Boyne* swore, "If the *English* would change Kings, they would fight it over again, and beat us." So material is the Courage and Countenance of the chief Commander in an Army, especially a King, which makes his Nobility, Gentry and Officers strive to imitate his Example, by which he is better served, and commonly more fortunate.

July 17, the Army encamped within a Mile of *Athlone*, the Enemy playing the great Guns on them as they marched, with little Damage. The General sent a Drum to summon the Town, but old Colonel *Grace*, the Governor. fired a Pistol at him and sent Word, *These were the Terms he was for*. Upon which the *English* were contriving to raise Batteries; but the Enemy having made Provision for their coming, and Lieutenant General *Douglas* not having Cannon large enough to endamage the Town, and also very little Bread, it was resolved, by a Council of War, to remove from the Town; which was done at 12 at Night, with all their Baggage, the Enemy not so much as firing a Gun at them; and soon after they joined the King's Army.

July 9, his Majesty encamped at *Crumlin*, two Miles from *Dublin*, where he settled the Method of granting Protections to those *Irish* that would submit to the Government; and gave Orders, that upon Pain of Death no Soldier should dare

dare to plunder the Country, or any protected Person, nor take violently the least Value from either Protestant or Papist, Abuses of this Kind having been lately complained of. Two Days after, the King passing by the *Nais*, saw a Soldier robbing a poor Woman, which enraged his Majesty so much. that he beat him with his Cane, and commanded that he, and others, found guilty of the like Disobedience. should be executed; which had so good an Effect upon the Army, that no Pilfering happened for a long Time after. The King had Notice in his March of the Confusion of the Enemy, and their Resort to *Limerick*; and People from *Kilkenny* gave an Account, that some *Irish* Horse and Foot were there still, but with Thoughts of quitting it upon our Approach; which they did. after having forced the Inhabitants to give them a Sum of Money to save the Town from plundering. Upon which a Party of Horse under the Duke of *Ormond* went to take Possession of the Place. July 19 the King dined with the Duke at his Castle of *Kilkenny*, which Count *Laurun* had preserved, with all the Furniture, in good Condition, the Cellars being well furnished with Wine, which they had not Time to drink at their going off; Colonel *Epinger* was sent from thence with 1000 Horse and Dragoons, to secure the Town of *Wexford*. which was deserted by the *Irish* Garrison, as also *Clonmel*. whither Count *Schomberg* marched with a Body of Horse being one of the strongest Towns in *Ireland*. and cost *Cromwel* 2000 Men in taking it; the *Irish* pretended to defend it now, and levelled the Suburbs and Hedges, but at length marched off, having got 300 *l.* of the People to be secure from burning and plundering.

July, 22. Major General *Kirk* sent a Trumpet to summon the Town of *Waterford* to surrender, which they refused in very civil Terms; but at length, on the 25th they delivered it upon Articles; and at the same Time the strong Fort of *Duncannon*, seven Miles below *Waterford*, was surrendered upon the same Terms; the King went into *Waterford*, and took Care that none should be disturbed in their Persons or Goods, At the King's Return to his Camp, his Majesty held a Council, where he declared his Resolution to go for *England*, upon some Accounts he had from thence, leaving Count *Solms* Commander in chief; But a few Days after having Advice from *England*, that the *French* were gone off the Coast, and had only burnt a small Village in the West, his Majesty resolved to return to the Army; and August 8, the Lord *Portland* and Brigadier *Stuart* were sent toward *Limerick* with about 1100 Horse and Foot, and the next Day the whole Army advanced; the King having ordered their several Posts, sent a Trumpet to summon the Town; it seems a great Part of the Garrison were for surrendering it, but Monsieur *Boiseleau*, the *French* Governor, the Duke of *Berwick* and Colonel *Sarsfield*, much opposed it, telling the Soldiers, "That there were  
 " great Divisions and Insurrections in *England*;  
 " that the *Dauphin* was landed there with  
 " 50000 Men and that the Prince of *Orange* would  
 " be obliged soon to draw home his Army to  
 " *England*." The Trumpeter was sent back from Monsieur *Boiseleau* with a Letter directed to Sir *R. Southwell*, Secretary of State, not sending directly to the King, because it is thought he would avoid giving him the Title of Majesty; "That  
 " he was surprized at the Summons, and that he  
 " thought the best Way to gain the Prince of  
 " *Orange*'s good Opinion, was by a vigorous  
 Defence

“ Defence of that Town, which his Majesty had  
 “ entrusted him withal. The next Morning a  
 Cornet deserted the Enemy, who told King  
*William*, “ That a great many were for surren-  
 “ dering; that Count *Lauzun*, with the *French*  
 “ were encamped nigh *Galway*, the *Irish* refusing  
 “ to receive them into the Town, because them-  
 “ selves had done so some Time before at *Lime-*  
 “ *rick*; that *Tyreconnel*, with most of the *Irish* Horse,  
 “ and some Foot, were encamp’d about 8 Miles  
 “ on the other Side *Limerick*; that there were 14  
 “ Regiments of Foot, 3 of Horse, and 2 of Dra-  
 “ goons, then in the Town.”

This City is very strong, both by Nature and  
 Art, and the *Irish* had now added some new For-  
 tifications to it. In 1651 Lieutenant General  
*Ireton* laid Siege to it for several Months, and did  
 not take it at last, for it was in some Measure  
 betrayed to him by one Colonel *Stennell* and o-  
 thers of the *Irish*. who against the Governor’s  
 Consent, received in 2 or 300 Men, thereby get-  
 ting Possession of the Town. *Ireton* hanged the  
 Mayor, and several others, that were still for de-  
 fending it.

When his Majesty sat down before *Limerick*,  
 he had only a Field Train of Artillery, because  
 some imagined the Town would have surren-  
 dered upon Summons; but it being refused, 6  
 Cannon, call’d Pounders, two 18 Pounders, a  
 great Quantity of Ammunition, Provisions, Tin  
 Boats, and Abundance of other Materials; were  
 upon the Road from *Dublin*, under the Convoy  
 of two Troops of Colonel *Villar’s* Horse; of  
 which *Sarsfield* having Intelligence, by a *French*  
 Gunner who went over to the Enemy, he pas-  
 sed the River in the Night with a Body of Horse;  
 for being satisfied that if this Train arrived be-  
 fore *Limerick*, it would not be able to hold it.



he resolved to run the Hazard of destroying them; if he succeeded he broke our Measures; if not he designed for *France*, as he afterward declared. The King had notice of his March, and to prevent the worst order'd 500 Horse to march and meet the Guns; but, by some Neglect in the Officers, it was one or two o'Clock in the Morning before the Party marched, which they did very slowly, till about an Hour after, they saw a great Light in the Air and heard a strange rumbling Noise, which they imagined to be the blowing up of the Train, as really it was. For on *Sunday* Night, *August 11*, the Guns lay at *Cashel*, and on *Monday* they marched beyond *Cullen*, to a little old ruinous Castle, called *Ballinmedy*, not seven Miles from the Camp, and being so near did not fear an Enemy, especially having no Notice, and therefore being weary of marching, had turned most of their Horses to Grass, leaving a very slender Guard, and the greatest Part went to sleep, but some never awaked in this World; for *Sarsfield* lurking among the Mountains all the Day, and being guided thro' By-Ways to the very Spot, he unawares fell upon them, and cut several to Pieces, with some Wagoners and Country People that were coming to the Camp with Provisions. The chief Officer, seeing how it was, commanded to sound to Horse, but those that went to fetch them up, were killed by the Way: The Officers and others, after the best Resistance they could make, were forced to shift for themselves, with the Loss of Horses and Goods; a Lieutenant and some few Troopers were killed, in all about 60. The *Irish* got what Horses they could, some broke the Boats, others the Guns, and drawing all the Carriages and Waggons, with Bread, and Ammunition, together in an Heap and what they could not

carry

carry away, they laid a Train to, and fired at their going off, blowing up all with an astonishing Noise, whereby every Thing that would burn was reduced to Ashes. The Party of Horse that were sent against them came, when the Business was over, in Sight of the Enemy's Rear; but wheeling toward the left, to intercept their Passage over the *Shannon*, they unhappily went another Way. This was very unwelcome News in the Camp; however the Siege went on and several more Guns were planted, and Firings continued briskly from divers Batteries.

August 12, Brigadier *Stuart* went with a Detachment of Men and four field Pieces toward *Castle Connell*; upon whose Approach the Garrison, consisting of 126, surrendered, and were brought Prisoners to the Camp.

August 19, our Batteries play'd upon the Walls and Houses of *Limerick*; and the King riding softly up towards *Cromwell's Fort*, as his Horse was entering a Gap, a Gentleman stay'd his Majesty to speak with him, and in that very Moment a great Cannon Bullet was shot into that very Place which would have struck his Majesty and Horse too all in Pieces, if his usual good Angel had not defended him; yet it raised the Dust all about him, of which he took little Notice, but alighting, came and laid him down on the Fort, among all the Dust.

August 20, a brisk Attack was made by Colonel *Cutt's* Grenadiers, who with some others, made themselves Masters of a Fort near *St. John's Gate*; after which the Enemy sallied out of the Town, and a very hot Action happened, but the *Irish* were at length beat back into the Town, with the Loss of 300 Men; of ours 38 Foot were killed, and 140 wounded; of Horse 21 killed, and 52 wounded.

August

August 23, a Truce was made for burying the Dead on both Sides. We found a *French* Officer wounded, and his Horse lying upon him, and yet he was alive, and recovered, though he lay from *Wednesday* to *Saturday*. A Chaplain in the Army happened to go down after the Fort was taken, and seeing a Trooper, as he thought, mortally wounded, he went to give him good Advice, which the other was very thankful for; in the mean Time comes the Sally, and our Horse came thundering down, at which the Clergyman hastning away, fell down; the wounded Trooper seeing him fall, thought he had been dead, and went to strip him, having soon got off his Coat; at which the other called to him to hold, asking him what he meant; 'Sir, says the Trooper, I beg your Pardon, for I believed you were killed, and therefore I thought my self oblig'd to take Care of your Cloaths, as well as you did of my Soul."

August 27, a Breach, about 12 Yards long, and pretty flat, being made nigh *St. John's Gate*, the King gave Orders for attacking the Counter-scarp that afternoon, which was done by 500 Grenadiers, and some other Regiments of Foot and Horse, with much Resolution. The *Irish* having all their Guns ready, discharged great and small Shot among them abundantly, and our Men were not behind in either; so that in a Minute the Noise was so terrible; as if the Skies had rent asunder, which was seconded with Dust, Smoak, and all the Terrors that the Art of Man could invent to ruin and undo one another; the excessive Heat making it yet more uneasy. The Grenadiers threw in their Grenadoes, and afterward got upon the Counter-scarp: Upon which the *Irish* were throwing down their Arms and running into the Town with all Speed; which

which our Men perceiving, enter'd the Breach pell-mell upon them, and above half the Earl of Drogheda's Grenadiers, and some others, were actually in the Town; the Regiments that were to second the Grenadiers, went to the Counterscarp, and having no Orders to go further, stopp'd, the Irish were all running from the Walls, and quite over the Bridge into the English Town, but seeing few of our Men enter, they were with much ado persuaded to rally; and those English that were in seeing themselves not followed, and their Ammunition being spent, designed to retreat again, but some were shot, others taken, and very few came out again unwounded. The Irish then ventured on the Breach again, and from the Walls and all other Places, severely pestered those on the Counterscarp. for three Hours together, with Bullets, Stones and broken Bottles, even from the very Women, who boldly stood in the Breach and were nearer our Men than their own; so that the Ammunition of the Besiegers being spent, they thought it safest to return to their Trenches. In the Heat of the Attack the Brandenburg Regiment, who behaved themselves very well, were got upon the Black Battery, where the Enemy's Powder took fire, and blew up a great many of them. the Men, Faggots, Stones, &c. flying in the Air with a dreadful Noise. From half a Hour after three till seven, there was one continued Fire of great and small Shot, without Intermission, insomuch that the Smoke from the Town reached in one continued Cloud to the Top of a Mountain at least six Miles off; when our Men retreated. some were brought out of the Trenches dead, others without a Leg or Arm and several blind with Powder, and among them a great many Brandenburgers, who



who looked like Furies with the Gunpowder; The King stood nigh *Cranmel's* Fort all the Time, and afterward went to his Camp much concerned, as well as the whole Army, a Mixture of Anger and Sorrow appearing in all their Faces. We lost at least 300 upon the Place, and had 1000 more wounded. We killed a great Number of the *Irish* by our Cannon; but it cannot be thought their Loss should be equal to ours having the Advantage of the Walls to defend themselves. The Soldiers were desirous of a second Attack, seeming resolved to have the Town, or die every Man; but they did not know the Scarcity of our Ammunition, and besides it began to rain, and the next Day it rained very fast, so that it was resolved by a Council of War, that the Siege should be raised. We found some Difficulty in getting off our Cannon, the Ways were so soft with the Wet, and were also obliged to draw them off with Oxen, the Enemy having taken part of our Train Horses, which was one main Reason of raising the Siege. In a Day or two after, *Monfieur Boifeleau*, the Governor of *Limerick*, made a Speech to the *Irish*, telling them, "That with much ado he had persuaded them to defend the Town, which, with God's Help, they had done; but assured them it was not Fear, but Prudence and Policy that had made the *English* quit the Siege, as appeared by their slow Marches." And withal told them his Opinion, "That the next Time the Enemy came they would have it." Which said, he took leave, and went to the *French* Forces then at *Galway*, and designed for *France*.

The Day the Siege was raised the King went to *Waterford*, and thence to *England*, sending the Lord *Sidney* and *Thomas Conningsby*, Esq; to the Camp, with a Commission to the Lords Justices.

September

September 8. the Lord Lisburn went before *Kilmalluck*, being a Garrison of 200 Men, which, upon the Approach of our Forces, yielded upon the first Summons, *Nignath* Castle having done the like some Time before to Major General *Ginkle*.

September 21, the Earl of *Marlborough* landed at *Cork*, with several Forces, and was joined by Major General *Scravenmore* and others, who presently invested the Town, and soon after made a Breach in the Walls; so that after seven Days Siege the Garrison surrendered upon Articles.

October 2, the Earl of *Marlborough* marched thence to *Kinsale*; the Town was presently delivered; he then sent a Summons to the Governor to surrender the Forts. who returned Answer, *That it would be Time enough to talk of a Surrender a Month hence*. Upon this several Batteries were raised against the old, and afterward the new Fort, which play'd with such Success, that they were both delivered up *October 15* following.

After the taking of these two Places, part of the Irish Army in *Kerry* made several Incursions, and burnt all the Towns of the Counties of *Limerick* and *Cork*; and the Enemies gave leave to several Protestants to come from *Limerick*, where all provisions were very scarce. In November General *Ginkle* returned to *Dublin*. In December several Rapparees were got to the End of the Bog of *Allen*, 12 Miles from *Dublin*. it being about 40 Miles in Length and having several woody Islands from whence they plundered all the adjacent Country; but Colonel *Fouks* drove them from their Posts: Several small Skirmishes happened in the Winter, between the *English* and the Rapparees, wherein the first obtained divers notable Advantages; though generally their Parties

Parties were much inferior to the Enemy, which was a great disheartening to them.

May 7, 1691, the whole Army took the Field, under General *Ginkle*, and the *Irish* were busy in making Preparations for their Defence, having a new *French* General, named *St. Ruth*, sent them; who issued out all Orders in King *Lewis's* Name, and required the *Irish* Officers to take new Commissions under the *French* King, in Prosecution of the Design of subjecting *Ireland* to *France*. The first Place the *English* attempted was *Ballimore*, seated upon an high Tongue of firm Land, jutting out into a Lake, and strengthened with several Fortifications; five Batteries were raised against it, and the next Morning the General sent a Messenger to the Governor, "That if the Garrison would surrender within two Hours, he would save their Lives, and receive them as Prisoners of War; if not, that they should expect no Quarter." The Governor would not return a direct Answer, in hopes of better Terms; whereupon several Breaches were made, which put them into such a Consternation, that divers white Flags were hung out, and May 9 the Garrison surrendered, out of which marched above 1000 Soldiers and Rapparees, and about 600 Women and Children.

June 18, the Army marched from *Ballimore*, and the next Day came before *Athlone*, and thought it very strange to see none but *French* Colours in 4 Parts of an *Irish* Garrison: A Battery of Ten Guns was instantly planted, which were so well directed, that in a few Hours the Bastion against which they play'd, was laid in Ruins and thereupon General *Ginkle* ordered an Assault to be made. The Enemy seemed at first resolved to have maintained the Breach; but upon Sight of the Hand-Granadoes they fled in great Confusion.

fusion to the other Side of the Town, which was divided by a River, so that the *English* had nothing to do but to enter, not 20 of our Men being wounded, and some few slain. One Part of the Town being thus taken, the Cannon play'd with great Success upon the Castle, and the Enemies Works on the other Side the River, the *Irish* having broken down the Stone-Bridge; but the General resolved to ford the River to get to them; and accordingly, June 30. the Sign being given by ringing the Church Bells, 1500 Grenadiers, with whom Major-General *Talmash* went that Day as Volunteer, entered the Water; the Enemy fired at first very smartly, but the *English* wading up to the Breast in Water, with continual huzzaing, advanced under the Smoke and Shelter of their own Cannon, and coming to the other Side, they threw their Grenadoes so furiously, that the Enemy abandoned their Posts and Trenches, and in less than half an Hour we were entirely Masters of the Town, with all the Enemies Works, and the Ruins of the Castle; Major-General *Maxwell* and divers other Officers, with 200 common Soldiers, were taken Prisoners, and near 1200 killed on the Place, besides several Officers of Note; the rest escaped over the Ramparts, and fled to the Enemies Camp, from whence some Battalions were coming to their Relief; but meeting the Fugitives, and receiving so warm a Salute from those Works which were so lately their own, they retreated to their Camp. The *English*, in this unparalleled Action, had not above 20 slain and 30 wounded.

The *Irish* Army, upon reducing the Town, decamped in the Night, and retreated ten Miles off; the *English* followed them, and having passed a River that lay between them and the Enemy, near



near *Aughrim*, after some skirmishing they drove in their Out-guards, the *English* Cannon having, in the mean Time, dislodged the Rebels Horse from the End of a narrow Lane that leads to *Aughrim*: The *Irish* drew down great Bodies of Horse and Foot from their Camp, which was advantageously placed, and strongly posted, behind the high Banks, which lay one beyond another, and fell upon the left Wing of the *English*, and had a warm Dispute with our Foot for two Hours; but at last the Rebels gave Ground notwithstanding new Supplies of Horse and Foot were continually sent to relieve and second those that gave Way; but the *English* Courage surmounted all Dangers, who charged so bravely up the Hills upon the Squadrons of the Enemy, that they put them to an absolute Rout, and pursu'd them about 4 Miles, the Night preventing them from following farther, it being six in the Evening before they engaged, and eight before they took their Flight. The *Irish* were never known to fight with more Resolution, especially the Foot; but it was their last Effort wherein the gasping Honour of the Choice of all the Catholick Nobility and Gentry in the Kingdom strove to do their utmost: And besides their Number was superior to ours, being no less than 20000 Foot, and 8000 Horse and Dragoons, with all the Advantage imaginable that the Situation of Ground could afford them; so that nothing but the Blessing of God, and the superior Valour and Conduct of the *English* could have wrested such a complete Victory out of their Hands. Of the Enemy 8000 were slain upon the Place, and among them the General *St. Ruth*, who was killed by a Cannon-Bullet; the Lord *Galway* and several others of Quality, about 500 were taken Prisoners, among whom

whom were the principal Commanders in the Army, with 12 Standards and 30 Colours.

After the Battle, the General sent Brigadier Epinger with 1000 Horse and Dragoons to seize Portumney, where the Rebels had a great Magazine of Provisions, who soon possessed himself of it; and the next Day the Fort and Castle of Banaher surrendered, whereby the English became Masters of all the Passes upon the Shannon, except Limerick, and those within eight Miles of it.

July 17, the Army came before Galway, and the General sent a Trumpet to the Lord Dillon, Governor of the Town, that he should have Quarter and Pardon, pursuant to the Lords Justices Proclamation, which he sent him, if he surrendered before the Cannons were brought to fire upon the Garrison; his Answer was, "That Monsieur d'Ussone who commanded, was of the same Opinion with him and the rest of the Officers, and that they resolved to defend the Place to the last." Upon which the English instantly made their Approaches with such Vigour, that they took a Fort upon an Hill, which commanded a Valley between them and the Town, without the Loss of one Man, and then crossed over the River in two Boats so suddenly, that the Enemy were frightened into a Treaty: Balderick O Dannel, who designed to throw his Brigade into the Place, being prevented of his Intentions by the prudent Management of the General; so that July 26, the City of Galway was actually surrendered; Mons. d'Ussone, according to his Desire, marched out *incognito* some Hours before.

August 25, the Army came before Limerick, and soon after several Batteries were raised against the City: The General hearing that some Regiments of the Enemy's Horse and Rapparees were drawn together in Kerry, about sixteen Miles

Miles off, he sent away Brigadier *Levison*, with 500 Horse and Dragoons. in Pursuit of them, which they did so effectually, that few of them escaped. The *English* at the Siege advanced to *Cromwel's* Fort, the Enemy quitting both that and their Line of Communication with the Church, and returned to their Intrenchments near the Town. About the same Time the Earl of *Tyrconnel* died, as was certainly said, out of Anguish of Mind to see the ruinous Condition of his Master's Affairs, and was buried at *Limerick*. The General having Notice that Colonel *Henry Luttrell* was seized by Order of the French Lieutenant-General, *d'Ussone*, for having made some Proposals for a Surrender. and that he was sentenced to Death by a Court-Martial. he sent Word to Monsieur by a Trumpet, *That if any Man was put to Death for having a Mind to come over to the English he would revenge it double upon the Irish Prisoners*; which prevented his Death. Several Forts and Castles about the Town were daily taken in, and the Batteries play'd continually upon the City, which set it on Fire in divers Places, and ruined the Walls and Castle. About the same Time the *Irish* having put between two and three hundred Protestants into a little Island in the *Shannon*, under a sufficient Guard; their sad and starved Condition so moved the Compassion of the *Irish* Officers who guarded them, and were also desirous to go over to the *English*, that they sent to Major *Stroud*, who was posted hardby with some of that Militia. to let him know their Intentions: Upon which the Major went over with a Party in small Boats, and brought away both the Guards and Prisoners, who were almost starved for want of Food, in a Place where they had only two pitiful Huts to shelter them from the Cold and Rain.

September

September 8, a great Battery, of 22 Pieces of Cannon, began to play very early in the Morning, and in a short Time made a Breach of above thirty Yards in the *English* Town. and firing without Intermission, made terrible Havock, dismounting the Enemy's Cannon, set the *English* Town several Times on Fire, and laid the greatest Part in Rubbish; some of the Bombs fell into the Enemy's Stores, burnt two of their Magazines of Bisket, one of Brandy, and one of Powder, so that they were forced to remove the Remainder into the *Irish* Town.

September 15, the Lord *Lisburn* was killed by a Cannon Ball, and two Days after *Sligo* was taken by the Earl of *Granard*, the Garrison consisting of five or six hundred Men, who left in the Place sixteen Pieces of Cannon, thirty Barrels of Powder, with Shot and Provisions proportionable. One Captain *Tuaffe* came out of *Limerick* to the *English*, and informed the General, that the *English* Town was utterly ruined; that the Cannon and Bombs had killed a great Number of the Garrison, who were reduced to six thousand Foot, and very ill clad.

General *Ginkle* having resolved that Part of the Army should pass the *Shannon*. and remove the *Irish* Horse which lay in the County of *Clare*, and so shut up the Town on that Side; to conceal his Design. he order'd the heavy Cannon to be drawn off and shipped, and quitted several Castles. as if he intended to raise the Siege; which the Enemy observing. expressed their Joy by loud and repeated Shouts: But the same Night the Pontons were secretly laid over the *Shannon*, and by break of Day the Royal Regiment of Dragoons. and a Detachment of Horse, passed the River undiscover'd. Brigadier *Clifford* lay with four Regiments of Dragoons to have



have prevented their landing, but when he perceived they were got over, he brought down all his Men on Foot (their Horses being at Grass) to make what Opposition they could, but were presently routed, and for Haste threw away their Arms, leaving behind them all their Tents, Baggage, Saddles and other Accountrements, with two Pieces of Cannon and a Standard. These frequent Successes much intimidated the Enemy; and the *French* that were in *Limerick* had some Time before endeavoured to get away, but a Squadron of *English* and *Dutch* Men of War, and the Provision and Ammunition Ships from *Kinsale*, being by the General's Order come into the *Shannon*, they returned back again; but a Vessel on board which were *St. Ruth's* Goods and Plunder, attempting to get out of the *Shannon*, who was taken by one of their Majesty's Frigats.

September 22, the General passed the *Shannon* with a strong Party of Horse, Dragoons, and Foot, and fourteen Pieces of Cannon, who were drawn up before the *Irish* Town, notwithstanding the continual Fire of the Enemy, and then ordered them to attack the Forts that secured *Thomond* Bridge; the Besieged at the same Time sending two great Detachments to enforce and second the *Irish* that defended it: However, the *English* went on with such Courage and Bravery, that they beat them from their Works, and forced them to fly toward the Town; but the Governor fearing the victorious *English* would enter with them, durst not let down the Draw bridge to receive them, which occasioned a great Slaughter of the vanquish'd *Irish*, so that nothing was to be seen from the Foot of *Thomond* Bridge to the Draw-bridge but Heaps of dead Bodies; 600 of the Enemy were slain, and 130 taken Prisoners.

and among them many great Officers. Whilst the Conflict endured, the *Irish* play'd very furiously with their great and small Shot; and the Mettle of the *English* precipitating them too far, exposed them to the Enemy's Fire, whereby many more were killed than would have been otherwise; so that near 300 were slain and wounded, though not any one of Remark. The next Day in the Afternoon the Enemy beat a Parley on both Sides the River, and desired a Truce to be continued for three Days, that they might send to their Horse, which lay about *Clare*, to know upon what Conditions they desired to be comprehended in the Capitulation.

September 25, Colonel *Sheldon*, and other *Irish* Officers, came into the *English* Camp, and from thence to *Limerick*; the next Day *Sarsfield* and *Nobop* dined with the General; and the Lord *Cutts* and Sir *David Collier*, Colonel *Tiffany*, and Colonel *Piper*, were sent as Hostages into the Town; and four *Irish* Lords remained in the Camp, as Hostages for the Garrison.

September 27, the *Irish* sent them out their Proposals, which the General not approving, instead of an Answer, sent back 12 other Articles which was all he would allow them; and at the same Time gave Orders for the great Guns and Mortars to be ready, if they refused to consent to them; who seeing the General's Resolution, and finding no other Remedy, at length, October 3, the Articles of Capitulation were signed, consisting of two Parts. the first relating to Civil Affairs, which were signed by the Lords Justices, the General, and Persons deputed by the Garrison; the other in Reference to Military Affairs, which were subscrib'd by the Generals on both Sides: Such of the *French* and *Irish* as had a Mind

to pass the Seas, were to have Liberty, for their present Conveniencies, to stay in the *English* Town and Island, till they could be shipt away; and the Castles of *Ross*, *Clare*, with all other Places and Castles that were then in Possession of the *Irish*, were forthwith to be delivered to the *English*. In pursuance of this Agreement, one Gate of the Town was deliver'd up that Evening, and the next Day the Lord *Curtis* marched in to the *Irish* Town; and took Possession of it with several Regiments of Foot.

At this very Time News came that divers *French* Men of War, with the Transport Ships, were on the Coasts, and endeavoured to put into some Places distant from *Limerick*, either not knowing the Harbours, or being uncertain how Affairs stood there; but at length, it seems, they had certain Knowledge that *Limerick* had submitted, and upon what Terms; and one Article being, That such of the *Irish* and *French* as had a mind to leave the Kingdom and go to *France*, might stay to expect a free Passage thither without Disturbance; the *French* being hereby assured not to be attacked by our Men of War, boldly appeared on the Coasts of *Kerry*, being about 24 Men of War, and 25 Transport Ships, with some Fire-ships, having on Board 1000 Arms, Wine, Brandy, and other Provisions. And that it might be thought their Design in coming was only to carry off the *French* and *Irish* that were unwilling to stay, Monsieur d'Uffone, the late *French* Governor, took the first Opportunity to give Notice of them to Major General *Talmash*, who was appointed by the General to command in *Limerick*; whereupon it being judged more convenient that they should transport themselves in *French* Ships,

ships. than to trust ours in the Enemy's Port, the Transport Ships were admitted to come into the *Shannon* but the Men of War and Fire-ships to keep out at Sea, and those Transport Ships to have Liberty to take on Board such as would freely embark.

But the *Irish* Noblemen and Gentlemen having been made too sensible of the *French* Insolency in their own Country, resolved not to trust to their Kindness in *France*, and therefore many of them, as well as some Chiefs of the *Rapparees*, came in. and freely took the Oath of Fidelity to their Majesties; but others being promised great Advantages in *France*, were persuaded by *Sarsfield*, *Sheldon* and other Commanders, to embark with them, and make their Fortunes in the Service of the late King *James*.

*November 1*, the *Irish* entirely left the *English* Town of *Limerick*. and part of them went on Board the *French* Ships, one of which. that carried 400 Men, with several valuable Goods, ran upon a Rock, and about 100 were drowned.

*December 22*, the Remainder of the *Irish* being about 2600 Men, Women, and Children, were by *Sarsfield* embarked from *Corke* to *France*, tho' he thought to have carried off a far greater Number; but several whole Regiments deserted him, upon Advice of the ill Treatment the *Irish*, already landed in *France*, had received, where the Officers were generally displaced, or made to serve in lower Stations, and *Frenchmen* put over their Heads. After this Colonel *Foulk*, Governor of *Dublin*, had Orders to disband the *Irish* Regiments that came over to us upon the Surrender of *Limerick*, except one thousand four hundred, who were sent into the Service of the Emperor of *Germany*.



*Ireland* being thus happily reduced to the Obedience of their Majesties, General *Ginkle* went to *Dublin*, where he and the rest of the gallant Commanders were received with a general Joy, and the highest Marks of Respect to their Merits, who had been so serviceable to the Kingdom. Soon after the General embarked for *England*, and was received very graciously by their Majesties, and created Earl of *Aiblone*; the Parliament likewise sending their Thanks to him for his good Services, desiring him to communicate the same to all the Officers that served under him in this Expedition; and he, together with them, was highly entertained with a noble Treat by the City of *London*.

The Lords Justices were very diligent to settle Matters in *Ireland*, which now began to breathe again, after such Ruins and Devastations as had been made by the brutish *Irish*. And the Parliament in *England* abrogated the Oath of Allegiance in that Kingdom and order'd another Oath to be taken; and Sir *David Collier* was made Governor of *Limerick*.

In *August* 1692, the Lord Viscount *Sidney* being constituted Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, arrived there, and was received with loud Peals of Cannon, and complimented by the Nobility; and after having taken the Oath, the Sword was delivered to him, and the Day ended with Acclamations of Joy, and Bonfires. And soon after his Excellency issued out Writs for calling a Parliament in that Kingdom, who met accordingly, and his Excellency, in an eloquent Speech, declared, "The Happiness they enjoy'd  
" by being restor'd to this great Privilege, since  
" the Kingdom could not so well be recovered  
" to any Degree of Settlement legally, as by a  
" Parliament constituted and settled, and that  
" he

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“ he hoped they would make use of it to pass  
“ such Laws as might tend to the firm Settlement  
“ of the Country upon the Protestant Interest,  
“ and that it would be a great Satisfaction to  
“ his Majesty, to see them establish'd in Peace  
“ and Prosperity, having had so great and glo-  
“ rious a Part in relieving them from the Ca-  
“ lamities under which they labour'd.”

After this the Commons presented their Spea-  
ker, and proceeded to swear their Members; they  
then ordered an Address of Thanks to be drawn  
up to his Majesty, and another to the Lord Lieu-  
tenant, and then passed,

- ‘ 1. An Act of Recognition to their Majesties  
undoubted Title to the Crown of England.
- ‘ 2. For encouraging Protestant Strangers to  
settle in that Kingdom.
- ‘ 3. For additional Excise upon Beer, Ale and  
other Liquors.
- ‘ 4. For taking Affidavits in the Country.’

After which the Parliament was prorogued to  
April, and from thence to September, 1693.

# A LIST

## OF THE NOBILITY in the Kingdom of IRELAND, 1693.

**S**IR Charles Porter, Knight, Lord Chancellor  
 Dr. Michael Boyle, Lord Archbishop of Armagh, Pri-  
 mate of all Ireland  
 Dr. Francis Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin  
 Dr. Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Cashel  
 Dr. Joseph Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam  
 Richard Earl of Cork, Lord Treasurer

### DUKES.

**B**utler, Duke of Ormond  
 Schomberg, Duke of Leinster

### EARLS.

<b>F</b> itz Gerald, Earl of Kildare	O Bryan, Earl of Inchiquin
O Bryan, Earl of Thomond	Macarty, Earl of Clancarty
Burk, Earl of Clanrickard	Boyl, Earl of Orrery
Touchett, Earl of Castlehaven	Coot, Earl of Montrath
Boyl, Earl of Cork	Moor, Earl of Drogheda
Mac-Donnel, Earl of Antrim	Talbot, Earl of Waterford and
Nugent, Earl of Westmeath	Wexford
Dillon, Earl of Roscommon	Montgomery, Earl of Mount
Ridgway, Earl of Londonderry	Alexander
Felding, Earl of Desmond	Palmer, Earl of Castlemain
Brabazon, Earl of Meath	Traffe, Earl of Carlingford
Barry, Earl of Barrymore	Power, Earl of Tyrone
Vaughan, Earl of Carbury	Jones, Earl of Ranelagh
Plunket, Earl of Fingall	Mungier, Earl of Longford
Chichester, Earl of Donegall	Forbes, Earl of Granard
Lambert, Earl of Caanan	Dungan, Earl of Limerick



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Coot, Earl of Ballimore  
Ginkle, Earl of Ashlone

## VISCOUNTS.

**P**reston, Viscount Gormanston  
Roch, Viscount Fermoy  
Butler, Viscount Mountgarret  
Villers, Viscount Grandison  
Annesley, Viscount Valentia  
Dillon, Viscount Castella and Gallen  
Netterville, Viscount Lowth  
Loftus, Viscount Ely  
Beaumont Viscount Swords  
Magenis, Viscount Iveagh  
Needham, Viscount Kilmurry  
Sarsfield Viscount Kilmallock  
Burk, Viscount Mayo  
Sanderson, Viscount Castletown  
Chaworth, Viscount Ardmagh  
Scudamore, Viscount Sligo  
Lumly, Viscount Waterford  
Smith, Viscount Strangford  
Wenman, Viscount Taun  
Molineux, Viscount Maryborough  
Fairfax, Viscount Emly  
Butler, Viscount Kerrine  
Fitz-William, Viscount Merion  
O Dempsey, Viscount Glenmaister  
Cockain, Viscount Cullen  
Tracy, Viscount Rathcool  
Smith, Viscount Carrington of Barrefore  
Bulkeley, Viscount Cashel  
Brounker, Viscount Lynns  
Ogle, Viscount Catherlongh  
Butler, Viscount Galmoey  
Barnewell, Viscount King Island  
Boyl, Viscount Shannon  
Skevington, Viscount Massereen  
Chamondly, Viscount Kells

Fanshaw, Viscount Dromore  
O'Bryan, Viscount Clare  
Trevor, Viscount Dunganon  
Boyl, Viscount Dungarvan  
Berkley, Viscount Fitz-Harding of Beerhaven  
Caulfield, Viscount Charlemont  
Wingfield, Viscount Powerscourt  
Boyle, Viscount Blessington  
Lane, Viscount Lanesborough  
Dawney, Viscount Down  
Parsons, Viscount Ross  
Stuart, Viscount Montjoy  
Lefins, Viscount Lisburn Extinct  
Bourk, Viscount Galway  
Brown, Viscount Kenmare  
Mac-Cart, Viscount Mount-Cashel  
Chievers, Viscount M. Linister

## BARONS.

**B**ermingham, Baron of Athenree  
Coursey, Baron of Kinsale  
Fitz-Morris, B. of Kerry and Lixnow  
Fleming, Baron of Slane  
St. Lawrence, Bar. of Hoath  
Barnewall, B. of Trimblestown  
Plunket, Baron of Dunsany  
Butler, Baron of Dunboyne  
Fitz-Patrick, B. of Upper Ossory  
Plunket, Baron of Louth  
Burk, Baron of Castle-Connell  
Butler, Baron of Cobar  
Bark, Baron of Brittas  
Stuart, Bar. of Castle-Stuart Extinct  
Foliot, Baron of Ballyshannon  
Adwynard, Baron of Wicklow  
George Baron of Dandalk  
Digby, Baron of Geashel  
Fitz-Williams, Baron of Lifford Blaney



# 200 *A List of the Nobility of Ireland.*

*Blaney* Baron of *Monaghan*  
*Malone*, Baron of *Glenmallum*  
 and *Courchy*  
*Herbert*, Baron of *Castle-Island*  
*Calvert*, Baron of *Baltimore*  
*Brereton*, Baron of *Laughlin*  
*Hare*, Baron of *Colerain*  
*Sherard*, Baron of *Leitrim*  
*Magwire*, Baron of *Inniskilling*  
*Hamilton*, Baron of *Strabane*  
*Hawley*, Baron of *Duncannon*  
*Arlington*, Baron of *Killard*

*King*, Baron of *Kingstown*  
*Barry*, Baron of *Santry*  
*Annesly*, Baron of *Altham*  
*Bellow*, Baron of *Dulceek*  
*Petty*, Baron of *Shelborn*  
*Fitton*, Baron of *Gawsworth*  
*Bourk*, Baron of *Bophin*  
*Nugent*, Baron of *Riverstown*  
*Cutts*, Baron of *Gowran*  
*Conningsby*, Baron of *Glanbra-*  
*zil*

## Archbishops in Ireland, 4.

1. *Armagh*
2. *Dublin*

3. *Cashel*
4. *Tuam*

## Bishopricks 18.

1. *Meath*
2. *Kildare*
3. *Waterford*
4. *Cloufert*
5. *Elphin*
6. *Ferns and Loughlin*
7. *Clogher*
8. *Dromore*
9. *Offory*

10. *Derry*
11. *Down*
12. *Killaloe*
13. *Cork*
14. *Limerick*
15. *Cloine*
16. *Killala*
17. *Rapho*
18. *Kilmore*

## Univerfity 1.

DUBLIN.

There are 32 Counties in Ireland, out of which  
 are in all 275 Parliament-Men.

## *A Catalogue of all the Lord Lieutenants, Lord Deputies, and Lord Juftices of Ireland, from 1603 to 1703.*

1603	{ <i>SIR George Carie</i> , Treasurer <i>Arthur Chichefter</i> Lord Belfast <i>Thomas Fones</i> , Lord Archbishop of Dublin. <i>Sir Richard Wingfield</i>	Deputy
1604		Deputy
1610		Justice
		Justice

# *A List of the Nobility of Ireland.* 201

1614	Lord Belfast	Lord Deputy.
1615	{ Lord Archbishop of Dublin Sir John Denham	{ Justices.
1616	Sir Oliver St. John	Lord Deputy.
1622	{ Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely Richard Wingfield, Visc. Powerscourt	{ Justices.
1622	Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland	Lord Deputy.
1629	{ Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely Richard Boyle, Earl of Corke	{ Justices.
1633	Thomas Viscount Wentworth	Lord Deputy.
1636	{ Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely Charles Wandsworth, Esq; Master of the Rolls	{ Justices.
1636	Thomas, Viscount Wentworth	Lieutenant.
1639	{ Robert Dillon, Lord Kilkenny Charles Wandsworth, Esq;	{ Justices.
1640	Thomas Wentworth, E. of Strafford	Lieutenant.
1640	Ch. Wandsworth Master of the Rolls	Deputy.
1641	{ Sir William Parsons Sir John Burlace, Master of the Ordinance	{ Justices.
1642	{ Sir John Burlace Sir Henry Titchburn	{ Justices.
1643	James Butler, Marquis of Ormond,	Lieutenant.
1654	Charles Fleetwood	Deputy.
1655	Henry Cromwel	Lieutenant.
1659	{ Chancellor Steel Chancellor Baron Corbet	{ Justices.
1660	{ Maurice Eustace, Lord Chancellor Roger, Earl of Ormery Charles Earl of Montrath	{ Justices.
1662	James Butler Duke of Ormond	Lieutenant.
1663	Thomas, Earl of Ossory	Deputy.
1665	Duke of Ormond	Lieutenant.
1668	Earl of Ossory	Deputy.
1669	John Lord Roberts	Deputy.
1670	John Lord Berkeley	Deputy.

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1671	{ Lord Archbishop of Dublin	{ Justices.
	{ Sir Arthur Forbes	
1671	John Lord Berkley	Lieutenant.
1674	Henry Capell, Earl of Essex	Lieutenant.
1678	Duke of Ormond	Lieutenant.
1684	{ Lord Primate	{ Justices.
	{ Lord Granard	
1685	Earl of Clarendon	Lieutenant.
1686	Earl of Tyrconnel	Lieutenant.
1690	{ Lord Viscount Sidney	{ Justices.
	{ Thomas Conningsby, Esq;	
1692	Lord Viscount Sidney	Lieutenant.
1693	{ Charles Porter, Lord Chancellor	{ Justices.
	{ Sir Cyril Wich	
1693	{ Lord Capell	{ Justices.
	{ Sir Cyril Wich	
	{ William Duncomb, Esq;	
1695	Lord Capell	Lieutenant.
	{ Lord Chancellor	{ Justices.
1696	{ Earl of Montrath	{ Justices.
	{ Earl of Drogheda	
1697	{ Marquis of Winchester	{ Justices.
	{ Earl of Galway	
1699	{ Earl of Galway	{ Justices.
	{ Archbishop of Dublin	
1699	{ Earl of Berkley	{ Justices.
	{ Earl of Galway	
	{ Archbishop of Dublin	{ Justices.
1701	{ Earl of Drogheda	{ Justices.
	{ Earl of Mount-Alexander	
1701	Earl of Rochester	Lieutenant.
1702	{ Archbishop of Dublin	{ Justices.
	{ Earl of Drogheda	
	{ Earl of Mount-Alexander	{ Justices.
1702	{ Thomas Erl, Esq;	{ Justices.
	{ Thomas Keitly, Esq;	
1703	James Duke of Ormond	Lieutenant.



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